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THE HISTORY OF WALES.

WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN BRITISH,
BY CARADOC OF LHANCARVAN,
ENGLISHED BY DR. POWELL,
AND AUGMENTED
By W. WYNNE, Fellow of Jesus College, Oxon.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
A DESCRIPTION OF WALES,
BY SIR JOHN PRICE.

A NEW EDITION, GREATLY IMPROVED AND ENLARGED,
WITH PEDIGREES OF FAMILIES.

MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

The Chief Druid. Bannerman Sculp.

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FH
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

TO

SIR WATKIN WILLIAMS WYNNE, BART.

KNIGHT OF THE SHIRE FOR THE COUNTY OF SALOP,

THIS NEW AND IMPROVED EDITION

OF THE HISTORY OF WALES,

A COUNTRY IN WHICH HIMSELF

AND FAMILY,

ARE UNIVERSALLY, AND DESERVEDLY RESPECTED,

IS INSCRIBED,

BY HIS MOST OBEDIENT

HUMBLE SERVANT,

Strand, No. 50,
March 1.

THOMAS EVANS.

THE

PREFACE.

THE hiſtory of the Britains, may not improperly be diſtinguiſhed into two periods; the former comprehending the interval from Brute to Cadwalader, whilſt the Britains are thought to have enjoyed a general poſſeſſion of the whole iſland; the other containing the memoirs and tranſactions of the Britains under their ſeveral princes, after their receſſion to that part of the iſland, ſince called Wales. The former of theſe has been generally accounted of late, abſolutely falſe and unhiſtorical; and it is undoubtedly concluded that all the paſſages in Geoffrey of Monmouth, (the only remaining monument of the affairs of the ancient Britains) which are not conſonant to, and agreeable with the Roman hiſtorians that ſpeak of Britain, are abſolutely fabulous and inſincere. The hiſtory of the Princes of Wales, has indeed met with better fortune, and the author Caradoc of Lhancarvan is accounted juſt and authentick; ſo that there need no other apology for the following work, than that it is for the beſt part the genuine hiſtory of that author. But becauſe the hiſtory of Wales has no ſmall dependence upon, and relation to the hiſtory of the ancient Britains publiſhed by Geoffrey, I think it neceſſary to make ſome general reflection, in relation to the truth and authority of that copy.

And here in the firſt place, I muſt take notice of two ſorts of opinions, moſt widely repugnant, and as I may ſay, diametrically oppoſite to each

other; and both in my opinion, equally deviating from the right apprehenſion of the matter in debate. The one, perfectly rejecting the whole foundation and proceſs of Geoffrey's hiſtory, will not believe ſo much as one paſſage relating to the ancient Britains, but what is delivered by Roman writers; as if nothing remarkable could happen in Britain, but what muſt needs fall under their ſpecial cognizance and obſervation. The other, without any allowance to the age when theſe Britiſh affairs were tranſacted, (not to mention the utmoſt antiquity of ſome part of this hiſtory, cotemporary with which, nothing is certain among the more civilized Greeks and Romans) will believe the whole frame, and all the circumſtances of Geoffrey's hiſtory, be they never ſo ridiculous and extravagant. But not to inſiſt on ſo bigotted an opinion, as to think that the Britiſh hiſtory is univerſally true, and altogether authentick; I will confine myſelf to the examination of the other extream, to ſee whether that hiſtory publiſhed by Geoffrey, be ſo abſolutely fabulous as is frequently repreſented and generally believed. Now they who diſcredit this hiſtory, either wholly attribute the frame and invention of it to Geoffrey, or elſe granting him to be a faithful tranſlator, aſſure themſelves that the copy he received was fictitious, and perfectly owing to the unwarrantable forgeries of the fabulous monks. So that the ſubject of my preſent enquiries, will naturally fall under theſe two diſquiſitions; firſt, Whether Geoffrey be the real contriver and compoſer of this hiſtory? and ſecondly, Suppoſing him to be innocent of this ſuſpicion, Whether the hiſtory publiſhed by him, be perfectly fabulous, and in all reſpects a monkiſh legend?

First,

First, As to what relates to Geoffrey, though methinks there need no greater argument to evidence his innocency from ſo ſuſpected an impoſture, as his being the contriver of this hiſtory, than that he profeſſedly owns the receipt of the Britiſh manuſcript from Walter, archdeacon of Oxford; yet becauſe the prejudice of ſome men oftentimes obſcures their underſtanding, in things otherwiſe very clear and open, it will be requiſite to dwell ſomewhat more particularly upon that ſubject: or if the world be once perſuaded, that the whole invention is owing to Geoffrey, and that there was no ſuch account of the Britains in being, before he publiſhed his hiſtory, the whole ſeries of Britiſh affairs not mentioned in the writings of the Roman authors, and all that long continued ſucceſſion of Britiſh kings for ſo many ages, muſt of neceſſity be accounted fabulous, and a perfect legend. But before that Geoffrey ſhould be ſo unreaſonably attainted of ſuch notorious forgery, and his hiſtory be ſo generally condemned; one might expect that ſuch evident proofs could be produced to evince ſo abſolute a poſition, as to render it paſt all diſpute and contradiction. For to charge any one with inſincerity, for no other reaſon, than becauſe it is the common vogue and ſentiment of the world, is in my opinion a greater argument of partiality and prejudice, than of ſolid and judicious reaſoning.

Now the greateſt reaſon that I can think of, why the Britiſh hiſtory is attributed to the invention of Geoffrey, is, that almoſt upon its firſt appearance in the world, William of Newbo-

other; and both in my opinion, equally deviating from the right apprehenſion of the matter in debate. The one, perfectly rejecting the whole foundation and proceſs of Geoffrey's hiſtory, will not believe ſo much as one paſſage relating to the ancient Britains, but what is delivered by Roman writers; as if nothing remarkable could happen in Britain, but what muſt needs fall under their ſpecial cognizance and obſervation. The other, without any allowance to the age when theſe Britiſh affairs were tranſacted, (not to mention the utmoſt antiquity of ſome part of this hiſtory, cotemporary with which, nothing is certain among the more civilized Greeks and Romans) will believe the whole frame, and all the circumſtances of Geoffrey's hiſtory, be they never ſo ridiculous and extravagant. But not to inſiſt on ſo bigotted an opinion, as to think that the Britiſh hiſtory is univerſally true, and altogether authentick; I will confine myſelf to the examination of the other extream, to ſee whether that hiſtory publiſhed by Geoffrey, be ſo abſolutely fabulous as is frequently repreſented and generally believed. Now they who diſcredit this hiſtory, either wholly attribute the frame and invention of it to Geoffrey, or elſe granting him to be a faithful tranſlator, aſſure themſelves that the copy he received was fictitious, and perfectly owing to the unwarrantable forgeries of the fabulous monks. So that the ſubject of my preſent enquiries, will naturally fall under theſe two diſquiſitions; firſt, Whether Geoffrey be the real contriver and compoſer of this hiſtory? and ſecondly, Suppoſing him to be innocent of this ſuſpicion, Whether the hiſtory publiſhed by him, be perfectly fabulous, and in all reſpects a monkiſh legend?

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Now the greateſt reaſon that I can think of, why the Britiſh hiſtory is attributed to the invention of Geoffrey, is, that almoſt upon its firſt appearance in the world, William of Newbo-

rough and Geraldus Cambrenſis exclaim againſt it, and ſeem to lay the whole impoſture to the charge of Geoffrey. The words of Newborough are theſe: *At contra quidem* (ſpeaking before of Gildas) *noſtris temporibus pro expiandis his Britonum maculis ſcriptor emerſit, ridicula de iiſdem figmenta contexens, eoſque longe ſupra virtutem Macedonum et Romanorum impudenti vanitate attollens. Gaufridus hic dictus eſt, agnomen habens Arturi, pro eo quod fabulas de Arturo ex priſcis Britonum figmentis ſumptas, et ex proprio auctas per ſuperductum Latini ſermonis colorem, honeſto hiſtoriæ nomine palliavit. Qui etiam majori auſu, cujuſdam Merlini divinationes fallaciſſimas, quibus utique de proprio plurimum adjecit, dum eas in Latinum transfunderet, tanquam authenticas, et immobili veritate ſubnixas prophetias vulgavit.*

From this paſſage it is apprehended, that Newborough thought that the Britiſh hiſtory was ſolely owing to the contrivance and invention of Geoffrey; whereas nothing is more evident than that the only thing he lays to Geoffrey's charge, is, that he augmented, and of his own head made additions to the copy he received. And ſeeing that Newborough expreſly mentions Geoffrey's tranſlating into Latin, ſome ancient figments of the Britains concerning King Arthur, and unwarrantably adding to the ſame; it is manifeſtly apparent that he never took Geoffrey to be the contriver of the whole of what he had publiſhed, otherwiſe it is hardly conceivable, that ſuch an inveterate enemy of that hiſtory, would conceal any thing that might derogate from the truth and authority of it. Beſides, Newborough throughout his whole

preface

preface, wherein he endeavours to invalidate, and render the Britiſh hiſtory fabulous, chiefly inſiſts upon the life of King Arthur, and the prophecies of Merlyn; not a word of Brutus and his Trojans, which, though ſince accounted as notorious a piece of romance as any at all; it ſeems he had faith to ſwallow. Indeed, the paſſages in King Arthur's life, and the prophecies of Merlyn tending much to the ſame purpoſe, were too great and extravagant to be credited by him, (who by his character of them, ſeems to have bore but very ſlender affection towards the Welch,) by reaſon that they derogated much from the fame and valour of the Saxons; ſo that I am afraid, that the odium which Newborough bore to Geoffrey and his hiſtory, depended more upon national honour and reputation, than the truth and ſincerity of hiſtory. For ſurely he could never be ſo warmly exaſperated againſt a fabulous hiſtory, had he but the candour to conſult his own, unleſs there had been ſome other motive to raiſe and foment his paſſion. As to the ſcurrilous language he caſts upon the Britiſh hiſtory, and his umannerly treatment of the tranſlator; he therein expreſſes his ignorance and malice, rather than any love and regard to truth and ingenuity. For who but an ignorant and an unſkilful pretender, would confidently aſſert the Britains never had any metropolitans or archbiſhops, and would produce this as an invincible argument for the falſity of the Britiſh hiſtory; whereas it is notoriouſly manifeſt, that the Britains had their archbiſhops long before the arrival of Auguſtine the monk, whom Newborough pretends to have been the firſt who underwent that dignity in

this iſland. But as his arguments againſt Geoffrey's hiſtory are weak and invalid, and his whole preface more an invective than a confutation, ſo his credit ſhould be rejected and undervalued, for charging another hiſtory with falſhood, when his own ſeems wholly interwoven with ridiculous legends and monkiſh fictions.

But be the occaſion of Newborough's diſlike of the Britiſh hiſtory what it will, it is evident, that nothing can be concluded from the above quoted paſſage, more than that Geoffrey made additions to the Britiſh copy he received of the archdeacon of Oxford. And this is no more than what may eaſily and ſafely be granted; for the life of King Arthur, and the prophecies of Merlyn, the main ſubjects of Newborough's diſcontent, may probably be inſerted into the hiſtory by Geoffrey, at leaſt they were augmented, and ſeveral traditions were added by him. Bale, aſſures us, that he writ the life of King Arthur in a diſtinct treatiſe; and himſelf owns in the preface to his fourth book, which comprehends the prophecies of Merlyn, that upon the requeſt of Alexander biſhop of Lincoln, he had tranſlated Merlyn's propecies out of Britiſh into Latin, before the Britiſh copy came to his hands. Now, when Geoffrey had received the manuſcript from the archdeacon, and was engaged in tranſlating it into Latin, it is no ſtrange matter to imagine, that as occaſion required, he might amplify, and add to it, out of his former tracts. For it is obvious to ſuppoſe, that the ſeveral things concerning Arthur and Merlyn, might be preſerved in the iſland of Great Britain, which were long ago obſolete among the Britains of Armorica,

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from whence the Britiſh copy is ſaid to have been brought over.

But ſuppoſing that Newborough had attributed the whole frame of the Britiſh hiſtory to Geoffrey, which is evident he does not, his authority cannot balance with far more authentic hiſtorians, ſuch as H. Huntington, R. Hovedon, Matthew of Weſtminſter and others, but more particularly Matthew Paris, who in expreſs terms, calls Geoffrey, the faithful tranſlator of the Britiſh hiſtory. And ſeeing then, that it was in thoſe times apprehended to be an antient manuſcript, and none of Geoffrey's contrivance, when the cheat might be beſt diſcovered, and there wanted not good inclinations to detect ſo notorious a forgery; how in theſe latter times, it could be ſo luckily found out, that Geoffrey was the ſole inventor and compoſer of the hiſtory, I cannot poſſibly divine. Ad Ann. 1151.

The other reaſon, why Geoffrey is thought to be the author of the Britiſh hiſtory, is grounded upon a paſſage in Giraldus Cambrenſis, who ſpeaking of the etymology of Wales, rejects the denomination of it from either duke Wallo, or queen Wendolen, *Sicut fabuloſa Galfredi Arturi mentitur hiſtoria.* Now this is thought an invincible argument againſt Geoffrey, and a palpable detection of his inſincerity, ſince Giraldus, his own countryman ſtrikes at him, and accuſes him of forgery; whereas upon nicer examination, we may eaſily diſcover how that Giraldus quarrels only with the hiſtory which Geoffrey publiſhed, and which upon that account bore his name. For had Giraldus thought it to be only a contrivance of Geoffrey's, had he ſuſpected that Geoffrey falſly pretended to have received an Camb. Deſcrip. Cap. 7.

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antient Britiſh manuſcript, and by that means to have impoſed upon the world; can it be ſuppoſed that upon ſo plain conviction of falſhood, he would believe and give credit to an hiſtory, which he was ſatisfied was altogether a fable? But on the contrary, we find him aſſenting to the ſtory of Brutus, and the diviſion of the iſland betwixt his three ſons; and in ſhort, excepting in this one place, he expreſſes himſelf to be an abſolute votary of the Britiſh hiſtory, whence 'tis evident, he apprehended Geoffrey to be no more than a faithful tranſlator of an antient Britiſh copy.

I need not take notice of William of Malmſbury, becauſe that by the beſt account, he is ſuppoſed to have been dead before Geoffery publiſhed his hiſtory, and conſequently he could never ſee it; ſo that this expreſſion in him, *Hic eſt Arthurus de quo Britonum nugæ hodieque delirunt*, muſt likely refer to the then preſent traditions and accounts of the Welch concerning king Arthur, which probably might be too great and extravagant. For 'tis certain that a traditional account of any perſon or action, the farther it recedes from the ſpring and original, the more corrupt and imperfect it ſtill proceeds; and like a ball of ſnow, it gathers and augments in its journey; ſo that it may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that the vulgar account which the Welch in Malmſbury's time delivered of king Arthur, was too far incredible and ſurpriſing.

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But ſince the reaſons produced for proving Geoffrey to be the author of the Britiſh hiſtory, ſeem not to be ſatisfactory and evincing; let us ſee whether the contrary aſſertion can be more reaſonably maintained. And firſt, 'tis manifeſt that Geoffrey could not be the total inventor of the Britiſh hiſtory,

hiſtory, by reaſon that ſeveral things, and ſome of the moſt material paſſages therein contained, are agreeable with the hiſtories of the Gildas and Nennius, the poetical fragments of Talieſſyn, not to mention the Saxon Manuſcript, quoted by Mr. Wheelock, and other authors far more antient than Geoffrey. 'Tis owned indeed Geoffrey might borrow the ground and plat-form of his romance from Merlyn or Talieſſyn, or rather from Nennius, in whoſe writings there is ſome ſlight account of the Britains being deſcended from the Trojans; but the ſuperſtructure is all his own, who living in an ignorant age, and well knowing he could not well be diſproved, took the liberty to make what invention he pleaſed, and then recommended it to the world, for a true, undoubted hiſtory. But notwithſtanding all this conceſſion, I think there is as little reaſon to attribute the frame and compoſition of this hiſtory to Geoffrey as there can be, to think him contriver of the ground and plot of it. For it ſeems to me very unaccountable, that if Geoffrey was to invent and compoſe this hiſtory, why in this account of the tranſactions betwixt the Britains and Romans, he ſhould ſo widely diſagree with, and deviate from the writings of the Roman hiſtorians. For certainly, nothing could add more authority to a fable, than exactly to follow the ſteps of creditable authors, in thoſe things they both had occaſion to treat of. This in all probability, would not only render that part of the hiſtory unſuſpicious, but likewiſe credit and authorize the reſt, of which there was no account in Roman authors. And this diſagreement betwixt the Britiſh hiſtory, and the writings of the Roman hiſtorians, though frequently produced to overthrow the authority of it, induces me to believe,

Notes upon Bede.

lieve, not only that Geoffrey was not the author, but likewiſe that the manuſcript was ancient, and much older than the time, in which it was firſt made public.

But beſides, Geoffrey dedicates his tranſlation to Robert earl of Gloceſter, ſon to king Henry I. which in all likelihood he would never have ventured to do, had the original been of his own contrivance, for fear leaſt that the cheat being diſcovered, he ſhould be found, to put upon a perſon of eminent quality, with whom the Britiſh hiſtory was then in great eſteem. For to him it is that Geoffrey owns the receipt of this manuſcript from the archdeacon of Oxford, which he affirms to be very antient, and by his requeſt was perſuaded to tranſlate it into the Latin tongue. It was a very eaſy matter for the earl of Gloceſter to find out Geoffrey's integrity, by enquiring of the archdeacon (who by all accounts is reckoned his co-temporary) whether he had delivered ſuch an antient Britiſh copy into Geoffrey's hands, and whether the tranſlation juſtly anſwered the original. Theſe enquiries were natural, upon the publication of any new hiſtory, which made ſuch conſiderable noiſe and clamour in the world, and which gave ſuch an account of the antient Britains, as was never before thought or heard of among the Engliſh nation. And ſuppoſing the earl of Gloceſter to have omitted theſe enquiries, yet it is ſcarce conceivable, but that in caſe of ſo open a forgery, the archdeacon would diſcover the cheat, unleſs it can be thought that he was privy to, and had a hand in the contrivance. But he was ſo far from detecting Geoffrey's impoſture, that he himſelf owns too, to have tranſlated the Britiſh hiſtory firſt into Latin, and then in his

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latter days, to Britiſh again from the Latin, as may be ſtill ſeen in the Archives of Jeſus-College library. Now if there be any heed to, or dependance upon this, if it be true, that the archdeacon did tranſlate, and conſequently allow of this hiſtory, it appears very evident to me, that Geoffrey can be in no wiſe the author or contriver of it.

But that Robert of Gloceſter took a fancy to Geoffrey's tranſlation, more upon the account that his father had lately ſubdued the Welch, and therefore ſeemed to add to his father's glory, than that he did credit and believe the hiſtory, does not ſeem to be ſo true and evincing. For wherein could the publication of this hiſtory contribute to the advancement of his father's name? Was it becauſe he had conquered a people whoſe anceſtors appeared by this hiſtory to be formerly valiant and warlike? this was performed by others before him, and I can conceive no great addition to any man's fame, to conquer a handful of people, with a numerous army, tho' their forefathers had been ſtout and victorious. This is ſurely too ſlight a pretence for the reception of the Britiſh hiſtory by the earl of Gloceſter, and too weak an argument to deſtroy the truth and authority of it. It is certain, that it took exceeding well in the world at that time, nor was it oppoſed till after Robert's death, when William of Newborough more out of malice and diſcontent than any love he bore to truth, began to charge both the original and tranſlator with inſincerity. I cannot ſee upon the whole, the leaſt reaſon, why the contrivance and invention of this hiſtory ſhould be attributed to Geoffrey, or that the authority of it depends any way upon him, more than the fidelity of his tranſ-

tranſlation. I ſhall therefore conclude this ſubject with the character beſtowed upon Geoffrey, and the hiſtory by him publiſhed by Ponticus Virunnius, who flouriſhed in the year 1290, a man of great reading, and excellent learning of his time, who did not think it loſt labour to draw an epitome of the Britiſh hiſtory: *Giraldus* (ſays he) *hiſtoricus egregius et cardinalis, magnæ vir auctoritatis apud Robertum Claudioceſtriæ ducem, Henrici regis filium, ac patriæ ſuæ curioſiſſimus fautor, ex ſumma philoſophia atque archivis, hiſtoriam antiquiſſimam continua ſerie ab ipſis Trojanis collectam tranſtulit. Veriſſimas Britannorum hiſtorias arguit regum occidentalium conſuetudo; quæ erat, ſecum ſemper habere eos, qui veritate præcipua eorum geſta notarent.*

Secondly, But ſuppoſing Geoffrey to be innocent from this ſuſpected impoſture, and that he did no more than faithfully tranſlate a Britiſh manuſcript he received of the archdeacon; it may be farther objected, that ſeeing it abounds with ſo many unwarrantable matters of fact, and ſo extravagant fables and prodigies, it appears extremely ſuſpicious, and ſenſibly ſmells of a monkiſh production. For how is it poſſible, you will ſay, that any account, excepting what is found in the Roman hiſtories, could be had of the Britains, and that not only before, but even after their ſubjection to the Romans; ſince there is ſo much reaſon to doubt, whether the Britains, as well as other unlettered nations, had any means to convey any knowledge to poſterity, for want of the art of writing? for if the affairs and tranſactions of the Britains were only handed down by tradition, and they had no other way

or method to preſerve their memories, then certainly all pretences to ancient records, and conſequently to this Britiſh manuſcript, ſuppoſed to have been tranſlated by Geoffrey, muſt of neceſſity be vain and groundleſs.

And thus it is ſuppoſed, that the Britains had no writing among them, neither before nor after the Roman conqueſt; whence it follows, that there is no true nor certain account of any matter tranſlated among them, but what is recorded in Roman hiſtories. But tho' this be frequently inſinuated, yet I think, the contrary can with greater eaſe and perſpicuity, be made to appear. As to the Britains having no writing among them, during their ſubjection to the Roman empire, the contrary is ſo evident and notorious, that I conceive it loſt time to go about to diſprove it. It is ſufficient to lay down the words of Tacitus, an author of unſhaken reputation; *Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum ſtudiis Gallorum anteferre, et qui modo linguam Romanorum abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiſcerent. Inde etiam habitus noſtri honor, et frequens toga; paulatimque diſceſſum ad deliniamenta vitiorum, porticus et balnea, et conviviorum elegantiam.* Now, can any one ſuppoſe, that when the Britiſh youths were inſtructed in all the arts and ſciences of the Romans, when they began to ape and imitate them in their habits, buildings, and other neceſſary fooleries, they ſhould neglect ſo neceſſary a qualification, as that of writing? and can we imagine, that among ſo many able and learned perſons, as the Britains muſt in reaſon be, when educated in the Roman way, and owned to be very tractable in their education, not one ſhould prove Vita Agric.

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ſo affectionate to his country, as to note down the ſtate and tranſactions of it? certainly, if they learnt all the civilites and ſciences of the Romans, hiſtory was not ſo ſlight and trivial a ſubject of their induſtry, as to be undervalued; and I know not where they could better employ their ſkill, than in writing the hiſtory of their native country. It was natural for them being once civilized, to enquire into the origin and antiquity of their nation, the ſtate and condition of their conntry before the Roman conqueſt; and having made the beſt ſearch they could, whether by oral or written tradition into theſe enquiries, they would in all reaſon, according to the cuſtom and manner of the Romans, commit all to writing.

But allowing the Britains to have learnt the art of writing from the Romans, after their ſubjection to the empire, yet it is certain they had no ſuch thing among them, before the diſcovery of this iſland by Julius Cæſar, and conſequently, that all the former part of the Britiſh hiſtory which precedes that epoch, muſt be falſe and fictitious. And that this is no prccarious objection, a paſſage out of Cæſar's Commentaries is produced to ſtrengthen it, which in my opinion, evidently proves the contrary. The words of Cæſar are theſe: *Magnum ibi numerum* (ſpeaking of the Druids) *verſuum ediſcere dicuntur, itaque annos nonulli vicenos in diſciplina permanent; neque fas eſſe exiſtimant ea literis mandare, cum in reliquis fere rebus, publicis privatiſque rationibus, Græcis literis utuntur.* Why any one from hence ſhould conclude, that the ſuperſtition of thoſe ancient philoſophers the Druids, forbad the Britains to commit to writing the tranſactions of their country, much more that they had no writ-

De Bell. Gal. lib. vi.

ing at all among them, does I confeſs, very far exceed my comprehenſion. Cæſar, truly does intimate, that the doctrine and myſteries of their religion, the Druids did not think fit to commit to writing; but in all matters beſides, whether private or publick (among which, hiſtory may be reaſonably accounted) they uſed the Greek characters: for ſo I underſtand theſe words, *Græcis literis utuntur*. For it may not be ſuppoſed that all publick and private affairs of the Britains were tranſlated in Greek, when they had a different language of their own, and which in all reaſon muſt be the common tongue of the country; but only that when the Britains had occaſion to put any thing in writing, they uſed the Grecian character, which probably was the only letter, they then were acquainted with. But to confirm this matter the more, Cæſar makes mention of the like cuſtom among the Gauls; *In caſtris Helvetiorum tabulæ repertæ ſunt literis Græcis confectæ*. Lib. I. Now if he concluded from hence, that the Gauls (for the Helvetians were a Gauliſh people) made uſe of the Greek language, rather than the Grecian characters; I would fain be informed, why Cæſar ſhould write in Greek to Quintus Cicero, *Ne intercepta epiſtola ſua, a Gallis conſilia noſcerentur*; Lib. V. leſt that his letter being intercepted, all his meaſures and martial intrigues be diſcovered by the Gauls. Certainly, if he had known (as well he might, in caſe the Helvetians underſtood and writ in Greek) that the Gauls were not ignorant of the Greek language, he would not make uſe of ſo mean a ſtratagem to conceal his counſels. But ſuppoſe it be acknowledged that the Gauls and Britains uſed, not only the Greek characters, but the language

too (one of which muſt be allowed) it is evident that they had the art and uſe of writing before Cæſar made an invaſion to either country, and conſequently the Britains might have ſome written memorials of their country, which might be afterwards eaſily handed down to poſterity. For it ſeems to me very ſtrange, that men of ſuch reputed learning and knowledge, and ſo well verſed in the myſteries of philoſophy, as the Druids are acknowledged to have been, ſhould be ignorant of ſo neceſſary and uſeful a qualification as writing. And ſince it is affirmed, that their religious ſuperſtitions were interdicted to be committed to writing, we may rationally conclude, by the rule of contrariety, that all other things beſides their religion, were allowed to be written, and conſequently, that they had the art and uſe of writing among them.

But ſuppoſing the Britains to have recorded the tranſactions of their country, both before and after the Roman conqueſt, yet when the Saxons prevailed in the iſland, all the monuments and writings of the ancient Britains were utterly loſt; ſo that this pretended hiſtory of the Britains, muſt be modern and fabulous, built upon vulgar and uncertain traditions. For how was it poſſible that any one could write a true and faithful account of the ancient Britains, and be ſo particular in the tranſactions of thoſe times, whereas there was not the leaſt light to guide him to the knowledge of thoſe obſcure ages. This is expreſly acknowledged by Gildas, who lived long before Geoffrey, and openly declares, that all the records and monuments of his country were loſt in his time; and that in writing thoſe ſmall fragments of the hiſtory of Britain, he was forced

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to abſtract his materials out of the writings of foreigners. *Illa tantum proferre conabor in medium, quæ temporibus Romanorum Imperatorum et paſſa eſt, et aliis intulit civibus, et longe poſitis mala: quantum tamen potuero, non tam ex ſcriptis patriæ ſcriptorum monimentis; quippe quæ vel ſi fuerint, aut ignibus hoſtium exuſta, aut civium exulum claſſe longius deportata non compareant; quam tranſmarina relatione, quæ crebris interrupta intercapedinibus non ſatis claret.* Excid. Brit.

I ſhall here by the by, obſerve the levity of Aylet Sames's objection againſt the hiſtory of Brute; namely, becauſe Gildas makes no mention of Brute and his Trojans, he concludes that the Britiſh hiſtory muſt be a real fiction; whereas Gildas in this place manifeſtly declares his deſign only of writing the hiſtory of the Britains, during their ſubjection to the Roman empire. But as to this paſſage in Gildas, if in his time, there were no remains of his anceſtors left in writing; I would fain learn upon what ground and authority, he could ſo poſitively aſſert that the Britains from their firſt plantation in this iſland, were proud and irreligious, and their kings cruel and tyrannical. For a little before the above quoted paſſage, he ſays of Britain, *Hæc erecta cervice et mente ex quo inhabitata eſt, nunc Deo, interdum Civibus, nonnunquam etiam tranſmarinis regibus ingrata conſurgit.* And a little after, *Tacens vetuſtos immanium tyrannorum annos, qui in aliis poſitis regionibus vulgati ſunt.* Here he paſſes his judgment very liberally upon the ſtate and condition of Britain from all antiquity; and yet by and by, he confeſſes, that he had no guide to direct him to the knowledge of thoſe times he ſo freely cenſures; ſo that if he had not the ſpirit of divination, he Britan. p. 158.

may falter in his conjectures, or elſe he was guided by ſome Britiſh light, of which he was not willing to own the peruſal.

But allowing that Gildas, in compoſing that ſmall fragment of the Britiſh hiſtory, received no light from any Britiſh record, but was conſtrained to borrow out of the writings of foreigners; it concludes no farther, than that he had not the good fortune to meet with Britiſh manuſcripts, not that there were none really remaining in Britain. And farther, ſuppoſing that in Gildas his time, there were no remains of the antient Britains left in this iſland, but were all utterly loſt; yet according to Gildas his own acknowledgment, and upon the Saxons prevailing in the country, they might be carried over by the exuled Britains to Armorica, from whence the archdeacon of Oxford is ſaid to have brought over the Britiſh copy he delivered to Geoffrey. But if there was no written account of the former ſtate of Britain, in the age of Gildas, how comes it to paſs, that any ſuch thing ſhould be diſcovered and brought to light in ſucceeding ages? And not to inſiſt upon the authority of the Britiſh manuſcript tranſlated by Geoffrey, we have good reaſon to preſume, that the antient Britains before Gildas had both eccleſiaſtical and civil hiſtories of their country.

As to the former, Bede, whoſe authority, I preſume, will not be queſtioned, expreſly affirms it. For in his preface to his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, he ſays, *A principio itaque voluminis hujus, uſque ad tempus quo Gens Anglorum fidem Chriſti percepit, ex priorum maxime ſcriptis hinc inde collectis, ea quæ promemoramus, didiſcimus.* Here Bede plainly declares, that in writing a church hiſtory of Britain,

Britain, he extracted all his matter, before the converſion of the Saxons to Chriſtianity, out of antient authors. But who can theſe former writers be? Surely they were not Saxons, for we read of no Saxon writer before Bede; beſides, that ſeveral things contained in this hiſtory, were tranſlated before the landing of the Saxons; and as to the eccleſiaſtical part, betwixt the arrival, and the converſion of the Saxons to Chriſtianity that cannot be extracted out of their writings. For in the firſt place they were no Chriſtians, and it is very unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they would write the hiſtory of a church, of which they were at that time very fatal and implacable enemies; not to queſtion whether the Saxons before their converſion had any writing or learning at all among them. For though it be pretended, that the Iriſh, who uſe the ſame manner of writing, borrowed their characters from the Saxons; yet 'tis extremely ſuſpitious, that theſe received them from the Iriſh, if not rather from the Britains. As to the former, it is well known, that during the diſturbances betwixt the Britains and Saxons here in Britain, the incurſions of the Goths, Vandals, and other northern nations into other countries; all the learning of theſe weſtern parts of the world, fled into Ireland, which for a conſiderable time remained to be the nurſery of learning and learned men.

And that the Saxons, long after their converſion to Chriſtianity, retired to Ireland for this purpoſe, we have the teſtimony of their antient and moſt authentick hiſtorian; ſo that, I think, 'tis no preſumption to ſuſpect, that as the Saxons borrowed their learning from the Iriſh, they might for the ſame reaſon, receive their characters and Bed. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 3. chap. 27.

form of writing from them. But 'tis again to be doubted, whether both the Saxons and the Iriſh did not primarily derive their characters from the Britains: for though the Britiſh language be now writ in a different character from the Iriſh and Saxon, yet upon antient Britiſh monuments and inſcriptions, moſt of the Saxon letters, different from the preſent Roman alphabet, are plainly to be ſeen. Nor was this character originally Britiſh, the ſame being uſed in the firſt age of the Roman empire, if we can lay any ſtreſs on Julius Ceſar's will and teſtament, repreſented by Mabillon. But farther yet; if the Iriſh character be originally Saxon, the Saxons muſt either bring it along with them from Germany, or elſe they muſt have invented it after their arrival and ſettlement in Britain: if the firſt, it may ſeem wonderful, how it came to be quite loſt and forgotten in all parts of Germany; unleſs we can ſuppoſe, that it was limited only to the Saxons, and that they to a man came and ſettled in this iſland: for no body can be ignorant, that not only the Germans, but the Swedes and Danes too, uſe the Latin character; which, if we ſuppoſe them to have but lately borrowed, yet in all probability, their former letter was Gothick or Runick, to which the Saxon bears no great reſemblance. But if it be ſaid, that the Saxons invented this character after their coming to Britain; I cannot well conceive, why they ſhould put themſelves to ſuch unneceſſary trouble, when with far greater eaſe and facility they might copy and borrow from the Britains; unleſs the odium betwixt both nations made them ſcorn to ape and imitate an enemy. But be it ſo, that the Saxons invented this character in

De Re Diplo p. 345.

Britain; it will follow, that they had no letters nor learning before they came over; and conſequently, that theſe authors which Bede mentions to have tranſcribed out of, could not be Saxons.

As to the civil part of the Britiſh hiſtory, that the tranſactions of ſtate were recorded, and that copies thereof came to the hands of poſterity, we have the expreſs teſtimony of Nennius, who flouriſhed about three hundred years after Gildas. For in his preface to the hiſtory of the Britains. he openly declares, that he compoſed his hiſtory, *Partim majorum traditionibus, partim ſcriptis, partim etiam monumentis veterum Britanniæ incolarum.* Here Nennius ſays, that he partly extracted his hiſtory out of the writings of the antient Britains. And what could theſe writings be? Certainly, they were not the works of Gildas, the only Britiſh author we read of before Nennius; upon the account that the hiſtory of Nennius is much larger, and far more complete than that of Gildas; this latter, beſides the names of a few Britiſh kings, having left nothing hiſtorical to poſterity; the main, it ſeems, of his deſign being to rail, and to inveigh againſt his country, to which he had taken ſome diſpleaſure. From whence then elſe could Nennius extract the materials of his hiſtory? Why, 'tis reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that from ſome Britiſh records, which poſſibly might be recovered ſince the time of Gildas; and if then, why might not more be diſcovered ſince Nennius, and that delivered to Geoffrey by the arch-deacon of Oxon, be one?

But beſides, that the Britains kept memorials of their tranſactions, we may rationally gather from the conſtitution and profeſſion of the bards.

Diodorus Siculus ſays, Οὗ τοι ϗ μετ' Ὀργα'νων ταῖς λυ῾ραις ὁμοίων, ἃς μὲν ὑμνῶσιν, οὓς βλασφημῶσι; The bards ſinging to an inſtrument like a harp, repeat the praiſes and commendations of ſome, the faults and diſpraiſes of others. And in like manner Lib. 15. Marcellinus; *Bardi quidem fortia virorum illuſtrium facta heroicis compoſita verſibus, cum dulcibus lyræ modulis cantitarunt.* And above the reſt Pharſal. lib. 1. Lucan;

Vos quoque qui fortes Animas, belloque peremptas
Laudibus in longum vates emittitis ævum,
Plurima ſecuri fudiſtis Carmina Bardi.

But that the Bards did not only commit to memory the famous deeds of their princes and heroes, and ſo recite and repeat them upon occaſions; but alſo that they wrote down and recorded what they repeated, we have the ample teſtimony Cambr. Deſcrip. cap. 3. of Giraldus Cambrenſis. *Hoc etiam mihi notandum videtur, quod Bardi Cambrenſes, et Cantatores ſeu recitatores, genealogiam habent prædictorum principum in libris eorum antiquis et authenticis, ſed tamen Cambrice ſcriptam, eandemque memoriter tenent a Roderico magno uſque ad Belinum magnum, et inde uſque ad Silvium, Aſcanium, et Æneam; et ab Ænea uſque ad Adam, generationem linealiter producunt.*

Now that the genealogies here mentioned by Giraldus, were not only a bare account of the ſeveral deſcents and ſucceſſions of the Britiſh kings, but alſo ſome memorials of their lives and actions, may be eaſily gathered from the above ſaid manners and cuſtoms of the Bards. And ſeeing theſe Bards did preſerve not only in memory but in writing too, the lineal ſucceſſion and moſt famous tranſactions of their kings; I ſee no reaſon why the hiſtory of Geoffrey may not,

not, as to a great part of it, pretend to greater authority than is generally attributed to it. And if it be objected, that the Bards, by a poetical liberty outdid the truth of hiſtory, in the praiſes of thoſe princes they were to celebrate; yet thus far it may reaſonably be acknowledged, that the names and ſucceſſion of the ſeveral kings are real, and conſequently that Geoffrey could never be the inventer of ſo large a liſt of nick-names, as he is generally thought to be. For it is very probable, that the hiſtory of the Britains tranſlated by Geoffrey, was compoſed partly out of theſe genealogies peculiar to the Bards, and partly out of any other records and monuments of the Britains; both which I have ſhewn to have been preſerved, and uſed among them antiently.

But to deſcend to the particulars of this hiſtory, the firſt and moſt ſuſpicious relation, is that of the landing of Brute with a colony of Trojans, the ſeveral croſſes and encounters he ſuſtained in his voyage; and then of this iſland receiving its name from him. Should we indeed reflect upon the particular circumſtances of this ſtory, we might upon good reaſon be ſatisfied of the vanity and falſeneſs of them; but therefore to conclude, that becauſe the building is ſuſpicious, the foundation conſequently muſt be fabulous, and a perfect contrivance; does, I think, deſerve ſome better examination: for if we do but reflect upon the contemporary hiſtories of the Greeks and Romans, thoſe more polite and literate nations, we may with equal pretence of reaſon affirm, that there is no foundation for any matter of fact before the Olympids; or that the relation of Æneas coming to Italy, and all that hiſtory, to the building of Rome, are altogether groundleſs

and impertinent, becauſe they are intermixt with fables and impoſſibilities. Livy aſſures us, that all the tranſactions, before the building of Rome, are rather owing to poetical fancy and extravagancies, than to any true and certain matter of fact; and therefore he declined to give either his aſſent or diſſent, to any thing related of thoſe times: *Quæ ante conditam condendamve Urbem, poeticis magis decora fabulis, quam incorruptis rerum geſtarum monumentis traduntur, ea nec affirmare, nec refellere in animo eſt.* And Plutarch goes farther, and tells us, that the original and etymology of Rome, that famous city, ſo well known afterwards over all the world, could not be agreed upon among the diverſity of authors, and conſequently muſt be very obſcure and uncertain. Τὸ μέγα τῆς Ῥωμῆς ὄνομα καὶ δόξη δία πάντων ἀνθρώπων κεχωρηκὸς ἀφ' ὅτυ καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν τῇ πόλει γέγονεν, οὐκ ὁμολόγηται παρὰ τοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν.

Præfat.

Vita Rom.

But for all their own hiſtorians do allow that the hiſtory of thoſe times are fabulous and uncertain; yet there are none that queſtion the being of Æneas, and that the Romans were deſcended from him. The like may be urged for the hiſtory of Brutus, and the landing of the Trojans in this iſland; that though many particular circumſtances are fabulous, and entirely poetical, yet it does not thence neceſſarily follow, that there is no manner of ground or foundation for ſuch a relation. Neither is it ſufficient conviction, to urge, that the very being of Brute is all a fiction, by reaſon that the Roman hiſtorians make no mention of ſuch a perſon to be the ſon of Silvius; becauſe, that through the whole Succeſſion from Æneas to Romulus, the Hiſtories of thoſe times take notice only of the ſon that was to ſucceed;

ceed; it being unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that all the kings of Latium during that period, ſhould beget each of them, but one ſon. And therefore, what by the obſcurity of thoſe ages, and what by bearing regard to the line of ſucceſſion, many collateral princes eſcaped the cognizance of future hiſtorians. Nor is it enough to affirm, that the hiſtory of Brute is but lately known and diſcovered to the world; whereas the fabulous Roman hiſtory has been recorded from antiquity; becauſe, that though we are not certain that the Britiſh hiſtory has been handed down to poſterity in writing; yet we are ſure, that it was an antient tradition, long before Geoffrey's publiſhing of it; and one ſhould think, that an ancient national tradition, might require a ſtricter examination, than haſtily to throw it aſide, as fabulous and one of no conſequence.

But the queſtion is not, whether the Britiſh hiſtory, as related by Geoffrey, be, as to all the circumſtances of it, true and real matter of fact; for that, no man, I preſume, can reaſonably maintain; but whether there be any ground or foundation of truth couched under theſe poetical and fabulous narratives. Now the firſt thing we meet with in the Britiſh hiſtory, is, an account of Brutus his pedigree, how he was deſcended from the Trojans, and having accidentally ſlain his father Silvius, how he was forced to flee into Greece, whence, after ſeveral ſcuffles with Pendraſus, a petty prince of that country, he thought fit to retire, and to ſeek his fortune by ſea. But he had not wandered long, when he met with Corinæus, with another party of deſolate Trojans, with whom having joined his forces, he followed the counſel of the Oracle,

Oracle, and at laſt arrives in this Iſland, from him afterwards called Britain. Now as to the particular circumſtances related in the life of Brutus, they may properly be placed in the ſame claſs with Homer's account of the travels of Ulyſſes, or Virgil's deſcription of Æneas, his adventure to Italy; that is to ſay, that they are poetical fictions, and perfectly conſonant to the humour of that fabulous age. But the queſtion in hand will be, whether there be any probability for the ground of this ſtory, that Brute ſhould bring over a colony of Trojans, and ſeat himſelf in this iſland. Now what is moſt materially urged againſt it, is the novelty of this diſcourſe, that none of the Roman hiſtorians make the leaſt mention of ſuch a perſon as Brutus; and that Cæſar and Tacitus, who ſeem to have enquired more narrowly into the original of the Britains, found no ſuch tradition in their time; otherwiſe in giving their opinion whence the Britains were derived, they would never have omitted ſuch an ancient national tradition, of their being deſcended from the Trojans. Beſides, that Gildas, who was a Briton, takes no notice of ſuch a tradition, which in all probability he would never have omitted, had there been ſuch an account of their origin in his time.

As to what is objected againſt the antiquity of this tradition, is certainly very erroneous; for it is ſo far from being firſt known to the world, at the publication of Geoffrey's hiſtory, that Nennius, long before that time, and Merlyn much antienter than he, ſpeak of the Britains being deſcended from Troy. Nay the Saxons themſelves, before Geoffrey, were not unac-

unacquainted with this tradition, as plainly appears from the antient Saxon poet, mentioned by Mr. Wheelock, whom he thus tranſlates:

Notes on Bede.

——*Hæc unica fœmina prima*
Ante omnes ſævit Trojani ſemina belli,
Hanc Britones dixere Helenam, ſed Dardanus ille
Excelſus Bruti pater extitit, unde Britanni
Heroum ſumpſere genus; fortiſſimis idem
Hunc orbem primus regere, & dominarier auſus.

And again:

Inſula dicta fuit Britannia nomine Bruti.

That Gildas ſhould make no mention of this Britiſh tradition, is no great wonder, and as little to the purpoſe, to invalidate the antiquity of it; for we muſt not regard the intent and purport of Gildas's writing, which was not to give an account of the hiſtory and antiquity of the Britains, as much as to inveigh againſt the prophaneneſs and licentiouſneſs of the age; wherein his zeal and paſſion carried him ſo far, that he did not ſpare either princes or the greateſt perſons; and therefore he might well omit to give an account of the origin of the Britains, ſeeing it was remote from, and excluſive of his purpoſe. Cæſar indeed ſeems to have been ſomewhat more inquiſitive about the antient ſtate and deſcent of thoſe people he invaded; but his ſtay in Britain was ſo ſhort, and his knowledge of the country ſo defective, being he had no communication with the inland Britains, whom he owns himſelf to be the antient inhabitants, that it can be no great wonder he ſhould be ignorant of this tradition: for if this curious perſon

perſon had had the opportunity of a free converſation with the Britains, he would in all likelihood have left a large diſcovery of their manners and cuſtoms, and given a more perfect deſcription of Britain; which at that time would have been a very acceptable performance, to all the perſons of learning and curioſity in Rome, who as yet had but very ſhallow knowledge of the iſland. Or if we ſuppoſe that he made the ſtricteſt enquiry about the ſtate of the Britains, which he might probably have learnt from Mandubratius the ſon of Imanuentius, king of the Trinobantes, who, for fear of Caſſibelan, had come over to him to Gaul, and ſided with him during the Britiſh wars, it is very poſſible he might be ignorant that the Britains were deſcended from the Trojans, and that to be an antient and a current tradition among them.

Tacitus was never in Britain, but from the relation of his father-in-law, Julius Agricola, and others, he made a gueſs, that from the different ſhapes and colour, they were deſcended from different nations; ſome from Germany, ſome from Gaul, and others from Spain; but yet, as to the primitive Britains, thoſe who ſeemed to be the ancient inhabitants of the iſland, he concludes after the uſual pagan manner, *Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenæ an advecti, ut inter Barbaros parum compertum.* The Britains, indeed, in Tacitus's time, were well known to the Romans, and conſequently theſe latter might have been eaſily inſtructed, as to what knowledge the Britains had of their antiquity; but it does not therefore neceſſarily follow, that becauſe this hiſtorian does not mention any ſuch tradition, there was none really among them;

In vita Agric.

them; becauſe poſſibly he might never have heard of it; or if he did, he might have omitted inſerting of it in his hiſtory: for what he has delivered relating to the antiquity of the Britains, was but contingent to his purpoſe, the whole ſcope of his deſign being to deſcribe the actions of his father-in-law, during his lieutenancy in this iſland; and therefore it is not at all wonderful, that he has given but a ſlight and an imperfect account of what he never deſigned to make a narrow inſpection into. Beſides, if we ſuppoſe him to have made a diligent enquiry into the matter, and to have mind to know the ancient ſtate and origin of the Britains; yet ſince he wonted the opportunity of converſing with them, having been never in Britain; and none of the Britains that we know of, being at Rome, except thoſe who from their youth were educated there, and conſequently were in all probability ignorant of the traditions of their own country; he might very well at ſuch a diſtance have been never acquainted with ſuch a national tradition, which for all that, might have been current and prevailing among the Britains themſelves. As to other Roman hiſtorians, who have writ of the antiquity and primitive ſtate of Rome, that they have made no mention of any ſuch perſon as Brutus the ſon of Sylvius; I have already obſerved, is not of that force as to overthrow this tradition, by reaſon that, from Æneas down to Romulus, there is regard only had to the line of ſucceſſion, and thoſe only recorded who ſucceeded in the throne.

Let us conſider now, in the next place, what probable reaſons may be aſſigned to vindicate this ſuppoſed Trojan origin from an utter fiction; and whether

whether the hiſtory of Brutus have any probable dependance upon ſome real foundation. And not to inſiſt on the antiquity of this tradition, nor the authority of the Britiſh hiſtory publiſhed by Geoffrey, nothing gives greater confirmation to aſſert ſome real foundation for this ſuppoſed fable, than the near alliance and affinity betwixt the Britains and the Grecians. All learned men allow that the Greek was the ancient language of the Trojans, and that their cuſtoms were not much different; and whoever will compare the manners, religion and cuſtoms of the Britains with thoſe of the Grecians will eaſily diſcover a palpable conformity betwixt both nations, but more eſpecially in the language; in which, as Mr. Camden ſays, *Maximum eſt diſputationis firmamentum et certiſſimum originis gentium argumentum. Qui enim* (as he goes on) *linguæ ſocietatæ conjuncti ſunt, originis etiam communione fuiſſe conjunctos, homo opinor nemo inficiabitur.*

I ſhall not at preſent trouble the reader with a particular enumeration of that affinity; but will refer him to Sir John Price's *Defenſio Hiſtoriæ Britannicæ*, and Mr. Sheringham's treatiſe *De Gentis Anglorum Origine*. Now, ſince there is ſuch demonſtrable affinity betwixt the Britains and the Grecians in all theſe reſpects; we muſt either ſuppoſe, with Mr. Camden, that they are of the ſame origin, at leaſt that a colony of either Greeks or Trojans came over to this iſland; or elſe, that the Britains had correſpondence, traffick and communication with the Grecians. Now, that the Grecians had no knowledge of the Britains till very late, may be gathered from hence, that even the name of Britain is not ſo much as mentioned by any Greek

author

author before Polybius, who lived leſs than two hundred years before the Roman invaſion, and by him but juſt named, as betokening a very remote and diſtant country, wherein indeed it was reported that there was plenty of tin. Nay, Britain was ſo far unknown to the eaſtern parts of the world, long after this, that even Cæſar himſelf, when he intended an invaſion, was perfectly ignorant of the ſtate of the iſland; and tho' he made what enquiry he could of the Britiſh merchants in Gaul, yet for all that, he ſays himſelf, *Neq; quanta eſſet inſula magnitudo, neq; quæ aut quantæ nationes incolerent, neq; quem uſum belli haberent, aut quibus inſtitutis uterentur, neq; qui eſſent ad majorum navium idonei portus reperire poterat:* and therefore he was forced to ſend Caius Voluſenus before him to ſearch into the ſtate and condition of the iſland. Such ſtrangers were the Romans at this time to the iſle of Britain. And can it be ſuppoſed, that the Grecians had a better knowledge of it, ſince, in all probability, if they had had a commerce with the Britains, the Romans, who were maſters of the ſea long before this, would have quickly diſcovered their merchandizing; which, if as profitable as is imagined, they were no ſuch enemies to gain but they would ſhare in the booty. At leaſt, had the Grecians had any correſpondence with the Britains, the Romans would in all probability have known it, and conſequently they muſt needs have received better intelligence of the Iſland than what they ſeem to have had at Cæſar's landing. But Dion Caſſius ſeems to put this matter out of diſpute, and gives us a very plain account of what knowledge the Greeks and Romans had of this iſland, which

Bell. Gall. Lib. 4.

I will

Lib. 39. I will ſet down in the Latin tranſlation, *Primis Græcorum Romanorumque ne eſſe quidem Britanniam compertum fuit, poſteriores in controverſiam adduxerunt, continens ea terra, an verò inſula eſſet: multaque de utraque opinione conſcripta ſunt ab iis, qui certi quidem nil noverant (quippe qui nec vidiſſent, nec ab indigenis qualis eſſet accepiſſent) ſed conjecturis tantum, quantum vel otii vel ſtudii ſingulis aderat uterentur.* And the antient poet, in Euſtathius upon Dionyſius, reckoning up the greateſt iſlands of the world in his time, makes no mention of Britain, which ſhews it was not then known. And that Britain was the antient Caſſiterides of the Grecians, from whence they received their tin, is altogether uncertain; for Herodotus, making mention of thoſe iſlands of Caſſiterides, fairly declares he knew not where they were; which cannot well be ſuppoſed, if the Grecian merchants traded thither in his time; it being rational to imagine that, in treating of any country, ſuch a learned hiſtorian would endeavour to get the beſt intelligence he poſſibly could; and learning being at the higheſt pitch in Greece at this time, it is very ſtrange we had not a better account of this iſland, which is ſuppoſed to be ſo well known to thoſe who had a conſtant traffick here. But indeed, all authors who have mentioned theſe Caſſiterides do not ſeem to have known where they were ſituated, only Dionyſius, in his περιήγησις, makes them plainly to be the ſame with the Heſperides, thoſe Iſlands lying in the Atlantick Ocean, far enough from Britain, concerning which the poets have invented ſo many fables.

——— Αὐτὰρ ὑπ' ἄκρην,
Ἰρὴν ἣν ἐνέπουσι κάρην ἔμμεν Εὐρωπείης,
Νήσους δ' Ἐσπερίδας τόθι κασσιτέρου γε ἔθλη,
Ἀρνειοὶ ναίουσιν ἀγαυῶν παῖδες Ἰβήρων.

But admitting the Grecians to have been ignorant of any ſuch place as Britain, and that there never was any traffic or communication betwixt theſe two nations; yet ſince the Gauls ſpoke Greek, it is not very improbable but that the Britains might borrow from them. That the Gauls uſed the Greek tongue, we have the teſtimony of Cæſar; and it is very certain, that all the Grecian learning flouriſhed at Marſeils, which was an ancient and and famous univerſity, and is very much celebrated by all almoſt, both Greek and Latin writers. And by this means, it may be reaſonably concluded, how the Britiſh and Gauliſh Druids became acquainted with the Grecian philoſophy, which being as to all the different ſects and opinions of it, taught at Marſeils, the Druids more particularly adhered to the Pythagorean, to which the Druid philoſophy bears a very near reſemblance, both as to the doctrine of the Μετεμψύχωσις, or the tranſmigration of the ſoul, and the reſt of their myſtical Cabala, which they ſo ſuperſtitiouſly kept ſecret and cloſe from the people.

But in oppoſition to this, it may be with greater certainty urged, that neither the Gauliſh nor Britiſh Druids had any correſpondence with the Grecians, and conſequently could not borrow their philoſophical myſteries from them. For if Cæſar may be believed, The art and learning of the Druids was firſt found out in Britain, and from thence is thought to be brought into Gaul; and at this time, as he goes on, ſuch as will attain to the perfect knowledge Lib. VI.

of that diſcipline, do for the moſt part travel thither to learn it. Now if this be true, that the Britiſh Druids were the inventors of this kind of learning, and that the Gauls came over hither to be inſtructed in the way and method of it; I can ſee no reaſon, why they ſhould have any communication with the Grecian academy at Marſeils, much leſs that they borrowed it from the diſciples of Pythagoras, eſpecially ſince they accounted their myſteries ſo ſacred, that they would communicate them to none, beſides thoſe of their own order. Nay, it may be better queſtioned, whether Druidiſm be not much antienter than Pythagoras, and antecedent to that æra, when the Grecians began to philoſophiſe. And for the ſame reaſon, that the Druids of Britain did not derive their philoſophy from Marſeils, it will follow, that they could not borrow their language; for if we ſuppoſe, which is the moſt we can, that the Gauls had ſome communication with thoſe Grecians, and upon that account that their language was in ſome meaſure mingled with the Greek; yet in their travel to Britain, they came not to communicate, but to borrow; and it is not likely that the Britains ſhould be effected with the language of thoſe who came to learn of them. Beſides, of all the number of Gauliſh words collected by Cambden, which agree with the Britiſh, few or none ſeem to be of Greek derivation; ſo it is highly improbable, as far as we can ſee into this matter, that the Gauls ſhould ever communicate the Greek tongue to the Britains. And therefore, ſince this difficulty cannot be removed by any other way, it is not unreaſonable to ſuſpect, that there is ſome real foundation lodged in the ruins of the ſtory of

Brutus,

Brutus, and that the truth is disfigured by the boundless accession of poetical invention.

I should tire the reader, and exceed the just bounds of what I at first proposed, if I should take a particular view of the British history, published by Geoffrey, and therefore I shall now only take notice of the life of King Cadwalader, where the history of Wales begins, and where a palpable mistake, I may call it forgery, has been committed by one side or another. For the very same things, which the British history relate of Cadwalader, the Saxon writers attribute to Ceadwalla King of the West Saxons, how he was driven by a famine out of his dominions, came afterwards to Rome, and was received by Pope Sergius, with other particulars here too tedious to relate. But that which seems to charge the fault upon Geoffrey, or whoever else was the author of the British history, is, that Bede an author of established credit, and one who lived near those times, says that it was the West Saxon King Ceadwalla that went to Rome in Pope Sergius's time. But then on the other side, it is hardly conceivable, supposing the British history a perfect contrivance, that Geoffrey or any other should be so grossly over-seen, as to borrow the transaction of a real king, and one so well known, to make up the life of a fictitious one cotemporary with him. Bede's reputation was too firm, to be shaken by an upstart history, and therefore it cannot well be supposed that the author of the British history was so unwary, in case he designed a cheat, as to let himself open to so easy a detection of forgery. All then that can be said, is, that the agreeableness of the names and time that these two princes lived in, and possibly their both

going to Rome, which was not unuſual in thoſe days, might without any deſign of putting upon the world, make a confuſion in their hiſtories. But whether the life of Cadwalader be a fable, the reader is at his own liberty to judge; it being prefixed to the hiſtory of Wales, not as it is more authentic, or any way of greater certainty than the reſt of Geoffrey's hiſtory, but only becauſe the author, Caradoc of Lhangarfan, began his continuance of the Britiſh hiſtory with it.

This Caradoc of Lhangarfan, an author of undoubted integrity, was cotemporary with Geoffrey, who taking his riſe from the place where the Britiſh hiſtory concluded, made a continuation of it through the reigns of ſeveral of the princes of Wales, till the year 1157, about which time he flouriſhed. After him, all things of moment that happened in Wales, were kept and recorded in the abbies of Conwey in North-Wales, and Yſtratflur in South-Wales, where the princes and noblemen of Wales were buried, as appears by the teſtimony of Gutryn Owen, who lived in the time of Edward IV. and writ the moſt exact and perfect copy of the ſame. All the moſt notable occurrences being thus regiſtered in theſe abbies, were moſt generally compared together every third year, when the Beirdh or Bards belonging to theſe two houſes went their ordinary viſitations, which was called Clera. And this continued until the year 1270, a little before the death of the laſt Prince Lhewelyn, who was ſlain at Buelht. Humphrey Lloyd, Gent. who flouriſhed in the reign of Henry VIII. and one greatly ſkilled in the Britiſh antiquities, continued this hiſtory to the death of Prince Lhewelyn; and afterwards having tranſlated the whole into Engliſh language,

had

had designed to commit it to the press. But his death prevented what he purposed, and stopped the publication of this history for a long time after, until David Powel, D. D. in the time of Queen Elizabeth, having met with Humphrey Lloyd's translation, collected what he could out of English historians, which he added by way of annotations, and so published it in the year 1584. This being the sole history of the princes of Wales, and the only edition of this history, I was moved to prepare it for another impression, by a new modelling the language, making the body of the history intire, without troubling the reader to see the same thing by way of annotation, Dr. Powel's notes being for the greatest part but a repetition of the same matter of fact out of the English historians, with what other improvements could be made. The additions which I made to the former history, I chiefly took out of the notes of that late great antiquarian Mr. Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt; by whose help also I have corrected, supplied, and continued the chronology. Sir John Price's description of Wales will pretty well answer the geographical part of this history, till we shall be able to recover and fix several of those places whose names are only left to us at present, which we have great hopes, will be successfully perfected, by the unwearied labours of my ingenious friend Mr. Edward Lhwyd, in his intended Etymological Dictionary. I have added by way of appendix, the several records belonging to this history, and chose rather to insert the articles of peace betwixt Prince Lhewelyn and John Peckam Archbishop of Canterbury, in the original, with reference thereunto, than to insert all the grievances which the Welch then made in the English language, which do not so handsomely bear a translation.

A DESCRIPTION OF *CAMBRIA*, NOW CALLED WALES.

Drawn firſt by Sir John Price, Knight, and afterward augmented and made perfect by Humphry Lloyd, Gentleman.

THE three ſons of Brutus having divided the whole iſle of Britain into three parts; that part contained within the French ſeas, with the rivers of Severn (called in Britiſh, Hafren) Dee and Humber, fell to the eldeſt ſon Locrinus, which was after his name called Lhoyger, which name it hath in the Britiſh tongue to this day, and in Engliſh now it is called England, and is augmented northward to the river Tweed. The ſecond ſon Albanactus, had all the land northward from Humber to the ſea Orkney, called in the Britiſh tongue Mor Werydh, and in the Latin Mare Caledonicum. The third ſon Camber had to his part, all that which remained undivided, lying within the Spaniſh and Iriſh ſeas, and ſeparated from England, with the rivers Severn and Dee; and this part was after his name called Cambria, and the inhabitants thereof Cambryi and their language Camberaec, and ſo they are at this day. So that they have kept the ſame country and language this 2700 and odd years, without commixtion with any other nation, eſpecially

Cambria.

eſpecially in North-Wales, as it ſhall hereafter appear.

And becauſe the name of this country is changed, or rather miſtaken by the inhabitants of England, and not by them called Cambry, but Wales: I think it neceſſary to declare the occaſion thereof, which is, that where the Saxons a people of Germany were the firſt that after the Britains inhabited and ruled the greateſt part of this iſle, and drove the Britains to that corner, which according to the manner of their country they called Wales, and the people Welch-men, and the tongue Welch, that is to ſay, Strange, or not of them underſtood. For at this day the inhabitants of the Low Countries call their next neighbours language of Henegaw, or other that ſpeak French, Walſh, as a language to them unknown. Likewiſe the dwellers of Tyroll and other the higher countries of Germany do name the Italian their next neighbour a Welchman, and his language Welſh. And this is an evident proof, that they which harped upon a Queen Gwalaes, and of a Prince Wala (of whom neither Britiſh, Latin, nor Engliſh maketh mention) were foully deceived; and ſo likewiſe was a great hiſtoriographer of late days, which ſaith, that it was called Wallia, quaſi Italia, becauſe the reſt of the Romans which remained in the iſle were driven thither. Neither is this any new invention, although Polydore Virgil with an Italian brag doth glorify himſelf to be the firſt that eſpied it out, for divers antient writers do alledge the ſame cauſe of the name of Wales, of whom Sylveſter Giraldus is one, who wrote in the time of Henry the ſecond, after the conqueſt, before 380 years paſſed; which is an evident token, that the ſaid Polydore did either never ſee nor read the antient hiſtories of this realm, or diſſembleth the ſame to the advancement and praiſe of himſelf and his country; which to the learned and indifferent reader ſhall appear to be the only occaſion he took that work in hand, for all his book redoundeth only to the praiſe and honour of the Romans, as well ſpiritual as temporal, and to blaſe

for their acts and deeds within this realm: and upon the other part doth either openly ſlander, or elſe privily extenuuate, or ſhamely deny the martial proweſs and noble acts, as well of Saxons, Danes, and Normans, as of the Britains, all inhabiters of this iſle. Which thing he that liſt to prove, let him read and confer Cæſar's Commentaries, Cornelius Tacitus, Herodianus, and other antient writers, as well in Latin as in Greek, with his work. As for the antient writers of the Britiſh hiſtory, as the Britiſh chronicle, the hiſtory of Gildas, Ponticus Verunnius, yea the golden work of Matthew Paris, monk of St. Alban, which wrote from William Baſtard, to the laſt years of Henry the third; I dare well ſay he never ſaw them, they be in divers places to be had, ſo that the truth may be eaſily proved. To make an end I ſay, that he being firſt a ſtranger born, and alſo ignorant as well in the hiſtories of this realm, as of thoſe tongues and languages wherein the ſame were written, could never ſet forth the true and perfect chronicle of the ſame. But he having a good grace, and a pleaſant ſtile in the Latin tongue, and finding himſelf in a country where every man either lacked knowledge or ſpirit to ſet forth the hiſtory of their own country, took this enterpriſe in hand, to their great ſhame, and no leſs diſpraiſe, becauſe he a blind leader ſhall draw a great number of undiſcreet and raſh followers, as well geographers and coſmographers, as chroniclers and hiſtoriographers, to the dark pit of ignorance, where I leave them at this time, remitting the reader to the apology of Sir John Price, Knt. and his Britiſh hiſtory, written by him of purpoſe, againſt the envious reports, and ſlanderous taints of the ſaid Polydore, where he ſhall ſee a great number of his errors confuted at large. And to return to my former matter of the name of Wales, which name to be given of late by a ſtrange nation may be otherwiſe proved: for the Welchmen themſelves do not underſtand what theſe words WALES and WELCH do ſignify, nor know any other name of their country or themſelves but Cambry, nor

Wales.

of

of their language but Cambraec, which is as much as to ſay, as Camber's language or ſpeech. So likewiſe they know not what England or Engliſh meaneth, but commonly they call the country Lhoyger, the Engliſh men, Saiſon, and the Engliſh tongue, Saiſonaec. Which is an evident token that this is the ſame language which the Britains ſpake at the beginning; for the works of Merdhyn and of Talieſſin, who wrote above 1000 years paſt, are almoſt the ſame words which they uſe at this day, or at the leaſt eaſy to be underſtood of every one which knoweth perfectly the Welch tongue, eſpecially in North Wales. A Locrino. A Saxon.

Beſide this, where at this day, there do remain three remnants of the Britains, divided every one from other with the ſeas, which are in Wales, Cornwall (called in Britiſh Cerniw) and little Britain, yet almoſt all the particular words of theſe three people are all one, although in pronunciation and writing of the ſentences they differ ſomewhat, which is no marvel, ſeeing that the pronunciation in one realm is often ſo diverſe, that the one can ſcarce underſtand the other. But it is rather a wonder, that the Welchmen being ſeparated from the Corniſh, well nigh theſe 900 years, and the Britains from either of them 290 years before that, and having ſmall traffic or concourſe together ſince that time, have ſtill kept their own Britiſh tongue. They are not therefore to be credited, which deny the Welch to be the old Britiſh tongue. And here I cannot paſs over what one of theſe fine Chronicler's wrote of late, of the name of Britain, affirming that it ſhould be ſo called of Britanie in France, as the elder of that name. But ſurely he had either never ſeen Ptolomy nor Cæſar, nor any other antient writer, or read them with ſmall judgment and memory. For there he might have learned, that when this land was called Britain, the other was called Armorica, and how in Maximus's time, Conan Meriadoc was the firſt that gave it that name, and inhabited it with Britains out of this iſle. Other derivations of theſe words, Rob. Cænal, lib. 2. Per. 2.

Britannia and Albion, out of Greek and Latin, I am ashamed to rehearse; for unto such errors do they commonly fall, that either puffed up with vain-glory of their own wits, or pinched with despite and envy at other men's works, or blinded with ignorance, do go about to write and set forth any history or chronicle. But passing over this matter until another time, I will return to the description of Wales, which (as I said) was of old time compassed almost about with the Irish seas, and the rivers Dee and Severn, although afterwards the Saxons won by force from the Britains all the plain and champion country over the rivers, and specially Offa King of Mercia, who made a ditch of great breadth and depth, to be a mear betwixt his kingdom and Wales, which ditch began at the river Dee, by Bassingwerk, between Chester and Ruthlan, and ran along the hills sides to the South sea, a little below Bristol, reaching above a hundred miles in length, and is in many places to be seen at this day, bearing the name of Clawdh Offa, that is to say, Offa's ditch, and the country between it and England is commonly called in Welch, Y Mars, although the greatest part of it be now inhabited by Welchmen, namely in North Wales, which yet keepeth the antient limits to the river Dee, and in some places over it. Other (as Sylvester Giraldus) make the river Wy, called in Welch Gwy, to be the mear between England and Wales, on the south part, called South Wales, who measureth the breadth of Wales, from Salow or Willoweford, called Rhyd yr helig upon Wy, to St. David's in Menevia 100 miles, and the length from Caerlheon upon Yse in Gwentland, to Holyhead, called Caergybi in Anglesey, in Welch, called Môn, above 100 miles, and these be the common mears at this day, although the Welch tongue is commonly used and spoken in England, beyond these old mears a great way, as in Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, and a part of Shropshire. And thus for the general description of Wales, which afterward, about the year of Christ 870. Ro-

The mears and bounds of Wales.

dericus Magnus, King of Wales, divided into three territories which they called kingdoms, which remained until of late days.

Theſe three were Gwynedh, in Engliſh North Wales, Deheubarth, in Engliſh South Wales, and Powys Land; in every of the which he ordained a princely ſeat or court for the prince to remain at, moſt commonly; as in Gwynedh (which ſome old writers call Venedotia for Gwynethia) Aberffraw in the iſle of Môn or Angleſey. In Deheubarth, called in Latin Demetia, Caermardyn, from whence it was afterward removed to Dynefowr, eight miles thence. In Powys, Pengwern, called Y Mwythic, and in Engliſh Shrewſbury, from whence it was removed to Mathrafal in Powys Land. And becauſe this hiſtory doth as well treat of wars betwixt theſe three provinces, as betwixt them and the Saxons, Normans and Flemings, I think it good to ſet forth the particular deſcription of every part by itſelf. And firſt of North Wales as the chiefeſt part, which he gave his eldeſt ſon, ordaining that either of the other two ſhould pay him yearly 200l. of tribute, as it appeareth in the laws of Howel Dha, which are to be had in Welch, and alſo in Latin. Therefore Gwynedh (called North Wales) had upon the north ſide the Sea, from the river Dee at Baſingwerke to Aberdyfi, and upon the Weſt and South Weſt the river Dyfi, which divideth it from South Wales, and in ſome places from Powys Land. And on the South and Eaſt, it is divided from Powys, ſometimes with mountains, and ſometimes with rivers, till it come to the river Dee again. This land was of old time divided to four parts, of which the chiefeſt was Môn, in Engliſh called Angleſey, where the prince's chief houſe was at Aberffraw, which is an iſland ſeparated from the main land, with an arm of the ſea called Mænai, and had in itſelf three cantreds or hundreds, which were ſubdivided to ſix comots, as cantref Aberffraw to comot Lhion, and comot Malhtraeth, cantref Cemais, to the comots Talibolion and Twr Celyn; cantref Roſſyr to the comots Tyn-

Aberffraw.

Dyneſowr.

Mathrafal.

North Wales.

Mon.

daethwy

daethwy and Mænai. And at this day there is a fine town in that isle called Bewmoris, and a common passage to Ireland at Caergybi, called in English Holyhead. But here I cannot wink at that notable error of Polydore, which (after his accustomed fashion) denieth this isle to be called Môna, but Anglesia, or Anglorum Insula, because it is called in English Angleſey, and gives this name Môna to Man, and so hath lost the names of both isles: which ignorance and forgetfulness might be forgiven him, if he had not drawn a great number to this error with him, which in their charters do daily wrong name these isles, which may be easily proved. First, because the inhabitants of the isle do know none other name but Môn; and it is called through all Wales, Tir Môn, that is to say, the land of Môn, unto this day. So that neither by memory of man, neither by any monument in writing in the British tongue can it appear, that ever it had any other name but Môn, yet there be manifest monuments for these 1000 years. It is also grown to a proverb through Wales, for the fertility of the ground, Môn mam Gymry, that is to say, Môn mother of Wales.

The antient history of Cornelius Tacitus (which belike age had beaten out of Polydore's head) saith, that the soldiers of Paulinus Suetonius, and afterward of Julius Agricola, after they had passed through North Wales, then came over against Môna, where they did swim over an arm of the sea of 200 paces, and so by force won the isle. Now whether it is more reasonable thus to swim over 200 paces, or 20 miles? I know there is no man that believeth Polydore in this point; let all men therefore judge the rest. As for that which he saith of the great woods, it is nothing; for both the Romans, and after when the christian faith took place in this realm, the christians did fall and root them out, for the idolatry and absurd religion which was used there; that the King of Man sent for timber to Môn; read the life of Hugh Earl of Chester, which also is evident by the great beeches and

other

other trees found in the earth at theſe days. His other reaſon is, becauſe it is called Angleſey in the Engliſh tongue: ſo is Lhoyger England, and Cambry Wales; Are thoſe therefore the old names? No ſurely. And what if the inhabitants called it ſo? (as they did not) had it not a name before the Angles won it? Yes, I warrant you, but he had forgotten that. Now to the name of Man, it was ever, or at leaſt theſe 1000 years named in Britiſh Manow, of which cometh the Engliſh name Man. The inhabitants thereof call it ſo, and no nation about it did ever call it Môn, no nor any writer but Polydore, which was too young a godfather to name ſo old a child. For Gildas who wrote above 900 years paſſed, whoſe writings Polydore never ſaw, but untruly fathers upon him his own device; Giraldus in his deſcription of Ireland to Henry the Second, and Henry Huntington, do plainly call Man in Latin Eubonia, adding thereto either Manaw or Man, for the better underſtanding of the name; Will you believe them or Polydore? Other arguments there are which I will paſs over, till I have more leiſure and occaſion to write of this matter.

The ſecond part of North Wales was called Arfon, which is as much as to ſay, over againſt Môn; and had in it four cantreds, and ten comots. Arfon.

Cantref Aber had in it three comots, Y Lhechwedh-uchaf, Y Lhechwedh-iſaf and Nant-Conwey.

Cantref Arfon had two comots, Ywch Gwyrfai, and Iſgwyrfai.

Cantref Dunodic had two comots, Ardudwy and Eſionyth.

Cantref Lhyn containeth three comots, Cymytmayn, Tinlhayn and Canologion. This is now called Caernarvonſhire, as Môn is called Angleſeyſhire, and have the ſame diviſion at this day. In this ſhire are Snowden-hills, called Eryri, neither in height, fertility of the ground, wood, cattle, fiſh and fowl, giving place to the famous Alps, and without controverſy the ſtrongeſt country within Britain.

Here

Here is the town of Caernarvan, called in the old time Caerſegonce; and there is alſo Conwey called Caergyffyn. And the ſee of Bangor, with divers other antient caſtles and places of memory, and was the laſt part of Wales that came under the dominion of the kings of England. It hath on the north the ſea and Mænai, upon the eaſt and ſouth eaſt, the river Conwey, which divideth it from Denbighſhire, although it now paſs the river in one place by the ſea ſhore. And on the ſouth weſt and weſt, it is ſeparated from Merionyth by high mountains and rivers, and other mears.

Merionyth. The third part of Gwynedh was Merionyth containing three cantreds, and every cantred three comots.

As cantref Meyreon hath three comots, Talybont, Pennal and Yſtumaner.

Cantref Aruſtly had theſe, Vwchcoed, Iſcoed, and Gwarthrenium.

Cantref Penlhyn had theſe, Vwchmeloch, Iſmeloch, and Mienaint, and this keepeth the ſaid name till this day, but not within the ſame mears, and is full of hills and rocks, and hath upon the north the ſea, notable at this day for the great reſort and number of people that repair thither to take herrings. It hath upon the eaſt, Arfon and Denbigh-land, upon the ſouth, Powys, and upon the weſt, Dyfi and Cardiganſhire.

Tegyd. In this country ſtandeth the town of Harlech, and a great lake called Lhyn-Tegyd, through which the river Dee runneth, and mingleth not with the water of the lake, which is three miles long, and alſo the ſalmons, which are commonly taken in the river hard by the lake, are never ſeen to enter the lake. Likewiſe a kind of fiſh called Gwyniaid, which are like to whitings, and are full in the lake, are never taken in the river. Not far from this lake is a place called Caergay, which was the houſe of Gay, Arthur's foſter-brother. This ſhire, as well as Arfon, is full of cattle, fowl and fiſh, with great number of red deer and roes; but there is great ſcarcity of corn.

The

The fourth part of Gwynedh, was called y Berfedh-wlad, which may be engliſhed, the in-land or middle country, which contained five cantreds and thirteen comots, as cantref Rhyſoniog had in it theſe comots, Uwchalet and Iſalet. y Berfedh-wlad.

Cantref Yſtrad had Hiraethog and Cynmeinch.

Cantref Rhos theſe, Uwchdulas, Iſdulas and Creuthyn, all which are in the lordſhip of Denbigh, ſaving the Creuthyn which is in Caernarvonſhire, wherein the caſtle of Dyganwy did ſtand, which was the earls of Cheſter, and is commonly called in the Latin and Engliſh chronicle, Gannoc.

The fourth cantref was Dyffryn Clwyd, which may be engliſhed the valley of Clwyd, and now is called the lordſhip of Rhuthyn, and hath theſe comots, Coleigion, Lhannerch and Dogueilyn. Dyffryn Clwyd.

The fifth cantref is Tegengl, and now is a part of Flintſhire, having theſe comots, Counſylht, Preſtatyn, and Ruthlan. And in this part is one of the faireſt vallies within this iſle, containing 18 miles in length, and 4, 5, 6 or 7 in breadth, as the hills either draw inward together, or backward aſunder, which high hills do incloſe it on the eaſt, weſt, and ſouth parts, and northward the ſea. It is plentiful of cattle, fiſh and fowl, corn, hay, graſs, and wood, and divided along in the midſt with the river Clwyd, to whom runneth Clywedoc, Yſtrat, Whilar, Elwy, and a great number of other rivers from the hills. In this valley, two miles from the ſea, is the town and caſtle of Ruthlan, where ſometimes a parliament hath been kept. Ann. 12. Edw. I. And two miles above it is the ſee of St. Aſaph, between the rivers Clwyd and Elwy, called in the old time the biſhop's ſee of Lhan Elwy. Four miles thence, and two miles from the river, is ſituate upon a rock the town and caſtle of Denbigh, where is one of the greateſt markets in the marches of Wales, and one of the faireſt and ſtrongeſt caſtles within this realm, which being the houſe of David brother to Lhewelyn, the laſt prince of the Welch blood, was enlarged and ſtrengthened by Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln,

Lincoln, to whom King Edward gave the ſame lordſhip; it is alſo the ſhire-town of that ſhire. Five miles above this, is the town of Ruthyn with a fair caſtle, which ſometimes belonged to the lords Gray earls of Kent. This part of North-Wales, hath upon the north the river Dee, and the ſea. Upon the weſt, Arfon, and the river Conwey. South and eaſt, Merionyth, and the country then called Powys. And theſe be the mears and bounds of Gwynedh or Venedotia for the name of North-Wales containeth, beſides this, all Powys, at theſe days. So there was under the territory of Aberffraw fifteen cantreds, and in them thirty-eight comots.

Mathrafal or Powys.

The ſecond kingdom was Mathrafal, which in right order was the third, which came to the third brother, yet for the better underſtanding of the hiſtory following, I have placed it here. To this kingdom belonged the country of Powys, and the land between Wy and Severn. Which part had upon the ſouth and weſt, South-Wales, with the rivers Hy and Tywy, and other mears. Upon the north, Gwynedh, and upon the eaſt the marches of England, from Cheſter to Wy, a little above Hereford; and therefore it was moſt troubled with wars, as well of the Saxons, as afterwards of the Normans, lords marches, who daily won ſome part thereof, and by that means it was the firſt part that ſerved the Kings of England, and therefore leſs eſteemed of all the reſt. This part called Powys, was divided again into Powys Fadoc, and Powys Wenwynwyn. Powys Fadoc contained in itſelf five cantreds and fifteen comots.

Cantreff Y Barwn, which had three comots, Dynmael, Edeyrneon, and Glyndourdwy, which are now in Merionythſhire (ſaving Dinmael which is in Denbighſhire)

Cantref Y Rhiw, whoſe comots were theſe, Yal now in Denbighſhire; Yſtratalyn and Hop in Flintſhire.

Cantref Uwchnant hath thee comots, Merfforth in Flintſhire, Maelor Gymraeg, in Engliſh Bromfield, now

now in Denbighſhire, and Maelor Saeſneg in Flintſhire.

Cantref Trefred containeth theſe comots, Croesfain, Tref y Wayn, in Engliſh Chirke, and in Denbighſhire. Croeſoſwallt, in Engliſh Oſweſtrey, and in Shropſhire.

Cantref Rhaiyder with his comots Mochnant Iſraiyder, Cynlhaeth and Nanheudwy all in Chirke-land, and in Denbighſhire. Alſo the lordſhip of Whytington, now in Shropſhire, was in this part of Powys, which part at this day, hath loſt the name of Powys, and is ſituated in divers ſhires, as it appeareth by the diſcourſe before paſſed. In this part is the caſtle of Holt in Bromfield, and the caſtle of Chirke in Chirkeland. Likewiſe the lordſhip and caſtle of Whytington, which came by marriage to Foulk Fitz-Warren. There is beſide theſe, the lordſhip of Oſweſtry, of the which the Fitz-Alans have been lords theſe 300 and odd years, and of divers other lordſhips in thoſe marches, as Shrarden, the eleven towns, Clun and many others, which are all now in Shropſhire.

The ſecond part called Powys Wenwynwyn, had likewiſe five cantreds, and twelve comots.

Cantryf Y Fyrnwy had theſe comots, Mochnant uwch Rayader, Mechain Iſcoed and Lhannerch Hudol.

Cantref Yſtlyc had theſe, Deuthwr, Corthwr Iſaf, and Yſtrat Marchelb.

Cantref Lhyſwynaf had theſe, Caerneon, and Mechain Uwchcoed.

Cantref Cydewen had comot Conan and Comot Hauren.

Cantref Gonan had Cyfeilioc and Mouthwy, which is in Merionythſhire. Of all theſe, the three firſt cantreds do only at this day bear the name of Powys, which are upon the north-ſide of Severn, and are all five (ſaving the comot of Mowthwy) in Montgomeryſhire.

This is a country full of woods, hills, and rivers, and hath in it theſe towns, the Poole, New-Town and Machylhaeth. Aruſtly was in old time in this part, but afterwards it came to the princes of Gwynedh.

Theſe lordſhips came by juſt deſcent from the princes thereof, to a woman named Hawys, the daughter of Owen ap Gruffydh. Aruſtly and Cyfeilioc came to the baron of Dudley, and afterwards it was ſold to the king.

The third part belonging to Mathrafal, was the land between Wy and Severn, containing four cantreds, and thirteen comots.

Cantref Melienyeth hath theſe comots, Ceri, Swydhygre Rhiwalalht, and Glyn Iiethon.

Cantref Elfel hath theſe, Uwchmynydh, Iſmynydh, and Lhechdhyfnog.

Cantref y Clawdh theſe, Dyffryn Teyſediat, Swydhynogen, and Pennwelht.

Cantref Buelht hath theſe, Swydh y Fam, Dreulys, and Iſyrwon. Of this part there is at this day ſome in Montgomeryſhire, ſome in Radnorſhire, and ſome in Brecknockſhire. In this part, and in the lordſhips marching to it, which although at the time of this diviſion, which was in the time of the laſt prince, were not in his ſubjection, yet to this day ſpeak Welch, and are called Wales, and in theſe comots are theſe towns and caſtles. Montgomery called in Welch Trefaldwyn, a pretty town and a fair caſtle. The caſtle of Clun, called Colunwy, which is the earls of Arundel. The town Knighton, in Welch Trefyclawd. The caſtle of Cymaron. Preſteyn in Welch Lhanandras. The town and caſtle of Radnor, in Welch Maeſyfed, at this day the ſhire town. The town of Kington and the caſtle of Huntingdon, called in Welch Y Caſtelh Mayn, which were the Bohuns earls of Hereford, and after the dukes of Buckingham. Caſtle Payne, Haye, Lhanfair in Buelht. Theſe lordſhips with Brecknock and Abergefenny, were belonging to the Bruces lords of Brecknock, and after came divers times, and by ſundry means to the Bohuns, Nevils, and Mortimers. And ſo (as I have rehearſed) in this territory or kingdom were found fourteen cantreds, and forty comots. Two of theſe parts, which are Powys and Gywnedh, are at this day called North-Wales, and divided into ſix ſhires, Mon called Angleſey, Caernarvon, Merionyth, Denbigh, Flint,

Flint, and Montgomeryſhire, and are all on the north-ſide Severn, ſaving a piece of Montgomeryſhire.

And here I think it good to let the reader underſtand what the Britiſh chronicle ſaith of North-Wales, which affirmeth that three times it came by inheritance to women. Firſt to Stradwen, daughter to Cadfan ap Conan ap Endaf, and wife to Coel Godeboc, mother to Genaw, Dyfyr and Gwawl. The ſecond time to the ſame Gwawl wife to Edeyrn ap Padarn, and mother to Cunetha Wledic; which Cunetha inhabiting in the north parts of England, about the year 540, after the incarnation of Chriſt, and hearing how the mingled nations of Iriſh-Scots, and Picts, had over-run the ſea-ſhore of Cardigan, which was part of his inheritance, ſent his ſons thither to enjoy their inheritance, of whom Tibiaon his eldeſt ſon died in Man, which land the ſaid Iriſh-Scots had won. For Gildas ſaith, that the children of Glam Hector, which peopled a great part of Ireland, Yſcroeth with his people inhabited Dalrieuda, which is a part of Scotland: Builke with his people came to Man. But I think it good to put in Gildas's words which ſaith; *Builke cum filiis ſuis inhabitavit Euboniam inſulam vulgo Manaw, quæ eſt in meditullio maris inter Hyberniam & Britanniam*; that is to ſay, Builke with his children inhabited the iſle Eubonia, commonly Manaw (for ſo it was and is named in Britiſh) which lieth in the middle of the ſea, between Ireland and Britain. This was not called Môna, as Polydore faineth. The children of Bethoun inhabited Demetia, which is South-Wales, with Gwyr and Cydweli, till they were chaſed thence by the children of Cunetha. Thus far Gildas. Therefore the ſons of Cunetha, being arrived in North-Wales (as well I think being driven by the Saxons, as for their inheritance) divided the country betwixt them. And firſt Meiredon the ſon of Tibiaon, the ſon of Cunetha, had cantref Meireaon to his part. Aruſtel ap Cunetha had cantref Aruſtly. Caredic ap Cunetha, had Caerdigion, now called Cardiganſhire. Doncd had cantref Dunodic. Edeyrn had Edeyrnion. Mael had Dynmael. Coel had Coleyon. Doguael had Dogueilyn. Rhyfaon had

Maelor the ſon of Gwran, ſon to Cunedha had Maeloron, that is the two Maelors, Maelor Gymbraeg, called Br. and Maelor Saeſneg.

Rhyfonioc, now Denbighland. Eineon Yrch had Caereneon in Powys. Uſſa had Maeſuſwalht near Oſwſtry. For ſurely that they ſay commonly of Oſwald King of Northumberland, to be ſlain there, and of the well that ſprung where his arm was carried, nothing ſo. For Beda and all other writers teſtify that Peanda ſlew Oſwald at Maſerfelt, in the kingdom of Northumberland, and his body was buried in the abby of Bradney, in the province of Lhyndeſey. But to my former matter. Theſe names given by the ſons of Cunetha, remain to this day. After the Iriſh-Picts or Scots, which which the Britains called Y Gwydhyl Phictiaid, which is to ſay, the Iriſh-Picts, did over-run the iſle of Môn, and were driven thence by Caſwalhon Lhawhîr, that is Caſwalhon with the long hand, the ſon of Eineon Yrch ap Cunedha, who ſlew Serigi their king with his own hands, at Lhan y Gwydhyl, which is the Iriſh church at Holyhead. This Caſwalhon was father to Maelgon Gwynedh, whom the Latins call Maglocunus, Prince and King of Britain.

In his time was the famous clerk and great wiſe man Talieſiyn Ben Beirdh, that is to ſay, the chiefeſt of the Beirdh or wiſemen; for this word Bardh in Cæſar's time, ſignified (as Lucan beareth witneſs) ſuch as had knowledge of things to come, and ſo it ſignifieth at this day. This Maelgon had a ſon called Run, in whoſe time the Saxons invited Gurmond into Britain from Ireland, who had come thither from Afric, who with the Saxons was the utter deſtruction of the Britains, and ſlew all that profeſſed Chriſt, and was the firſt that drove them over Severn. This Run was father to Beli, who was father to Iago, (for ſo the Britains call James) who was father to Cadfan, and not Brochwel called Brecyfal (as the Engliſh chronicle ſaith) for this Brochwel called Yſgithroc, that is, long toothed, was choſen leader of ſuch as met with Adelred alias Ethelbertus Rex Cantiæ, and other Angles and Saxons, whom Auguſtine had moved to make war againſt the chriſtian Britains, and theſe put Brochwel twice to flight, not far from Cheſter, and cruelly

ſlew

ſlew 1000 prieſts and monks of Bangor, with a great number of lay-brethren of the ſame houſe, which lived by the labour of their hands, and were come bare-footed and woolward to crave mercy and peace at the Saxons hands. And here you ſhall underſtand that this was not Auguſtine Biſhop of Hippona the great clerk, but Auguſtine the monk, called the apoſtle of England.

Then this Brochwell retired over Dee, hard by Bangor, and defended the Saxons the paſſage, till Cadfan King of North Wales, Meredyth King of South Wales, and Bledrus or Bletius Prince of Cornwal, came to ſuccour him, and gave the Saxons a ſore battle, and ſlew of them the number of 1066, and put the reſt to flight. After the which battle, Cadfan was choſen King of Britain, and was chief ruler within the iſle; after whom his ſon Cadwalhon, who was father to Cadwalader, the laſt of the Britiſh blood, that bare the name of King of Britain, was king.

The third time that North Wales came to a woman, was to Eſylht the daughter of Conan Tindaythwy, the ſon of Edwal Ywrch, the ſon of Cadwalader. She was wife to Merfyn Frych, and mother to Rhoderic the Great, as ſhall be hereafter declared. By this you may underſtand, that North Wales hath been a great while the chiefeſt ſeat of the laſt kings of Britain, becauſe it was, and is the ſtrongeſt country within this iſle, full of high mountains, craggy rocks, great woods, and deep vallies, ſtrait and dangerous places, deep and ſwift rivers, as Dyfi, which ſpringeth in the hills of Merionyth, and runneth north weſt through Mowthwy, and by Machynlaeth, and ſo to the ſea at Aberdyfi, dividing North and South Wales aſunder. Dee, called in Welch Dourdwy, ſpringing alſo on the other ſide of the ſame hills, runneth eaſt through Penlhyn, and the lake Tegyd,
Corwan and Lhangolhen, between Chirkeland and Bromfield, where it boweth northward toward Bangor, to the Holt, and to Cheſter, and thence north weſt to Flint-caſtle, and ſo to the ſea.

There is alſo Conwey, riſing likewiſe in Merionythſhire, and dividing Caernarvon from Denbighſhire, runeth under Snowden north eaſt, by the town of Aberconwey to the ſea.

Alſo Clwyd, which riſing in Denbigh Land, runneth down to Ruthyn, and plain north, not far from Denbigh to St. Aſaph, and ſo by Ruthlan and to the ſea. There be many other fair rivers, of which ſome run to the ſea, as Mawr at Traethmawr, and Aſon y Saint at Caernarvon, and other that run to Severn, as Murnwy in Powys, and to Murnwy, Tanat; ſome other to Dee, as Ceirioc betwixt the lordſhips of Chirke and Whittington; Alyn through Yal and Moldſdale, and Hopedale, and ſo to Dee, a little above Cheſter. And this ſhall ſuffice for the perfect deſcription of that which in old time was called Gwynedh and Powys, and at theſe days the ſix ſhires of North Wales.

Dynefawr. Now remaineth the laſt kingdom of Wales, called Dynefawr, which although it was the greateſt, yet was it not the beſt, as Giraldus witneſſeth, chiefly becauſe it was much moleſted with Flemings and Normans, and alſo that in divers parts thereof, the lords would not obey their prince, as in Gwent and in Morganwc, which was their own confuſion, as ſhall hereafter appear. This was divided into ſix parts, of the which Caredigion. Caredigion was the firſt, and contained four cantreds and ten comots, as cantref Penwedic had in it theſe comots, Geneurglyn, Perfedh and Creuthyn.

Cantref Canawl had theſe, Meſenyth, Anhunoc, and Pennarth.

Cantref Caſtelh had theſe comots, Mabwynion and Caerwedros.

Cantref Syrwen had theſe, Gwenionyth and Iſcoed; and this part is at this day called in Engliſh Cardiganſhire, and in Welch Swydh Aberteifi. This is a champion country without much wood, and hath been divers times overcome with Flemings and Normans, which builded many caſtles in it, and at the laſt were beaten out of them all. It hath on the eaſt North Wales with the river Dyfi and part of Powys, upon the

the ſouth Caermardhynſhire, upon the weſt Pembrokeſhire, with the river Teifi, and upon the north the Iriſh ſea. In this part is the town of Cardigan upon Teifi, not far from the ſea. The town of Aberyſtwyth upon the river Yſtwyth, by the ſea, and Lhanbadarn Fawr, which was a great ſanctuary, and a place of religious and learned men in times paſt. And in this ſhire were a great number of caſtles, as the caſtle of Yſtratmeyric, of Walter, of Lhanryſted, of Dynerth, of the ſons of Wyneaon, of Aber-Reidol, and a great number more, with the town of Tregaron and Lhandhewibreſi.

The ſecond part was called Dyfed, and at this day Pembrokeſhire, and had in it eight cantreds, and twenty-three comots, which were theſe. Cantref Emlyn had theſe comots, Uwchcuch, Iſcuch and Lefethyr. Dyfed.

Cantref Arberth had theſe, Penrhyn ar Elays, Eſterolef and Talacharn.

Cantref Daugledheu had theſe, Amgoed, Pennant and Efelfre.

Cantref Y Coed had theſe, Lhanhayaden and Caſtelh Gwys.

Cantref Penfro hath theſe, Coed yr haf, Maenor byrr, and Penfro.

Cantref Rhos hath theſe, Hulfforth Caſtelh Gwalchmai and Ygarn.

Cantref Pubidioc hath theſe, Mynyw, Pencaer and Pebidioc.

Cantref Cemais hath theſe, Uwchnefer, Iſnefer and Trefdraeth.

In this part are divers towns and havens at this day, as Pembroke, Tenby, in Welch Dynbegh-y-pyſcot, Hereford-Weſt, in Welch Hulfforth, with the fair haven of Milford, called in Welch Aberdaugledheu, St. David's or Menevia, called in Welch Mynyw, the chiefeſt ſee in all Wales. Then Fiſcard called Abergwayn; and Newport, named Trefdraeth; theſe be along the ſea coaſt, or not very far off. Beſides theſe there be divers caſtles, as Cilgerran, Arberth, Gwys,

Lhanhayaden, Walwyn, and divers others. This part was won firſt by the Montgomery's earls of Shrewſbury, and after given to the Marſhalls, and ſo to Valence, and from thence were the princes of Wales moſt troubled with the Normans and Flemings, who do remain and inhabit about Tenby, Pembroke and Rhos to this day, which can neither Welch nor good Engliſh as yet. Dyfed (for ſo will I call it hereafter) hath on the weſt and north the Iriſh ſea, upon the ſouth the Spaniſh ſea, and upon the eaſt Caermardhynſhire, and on the north eaſt Cardiganſhire. The third part was Caermardhynſhire, having four cantreds, and fifteen comots, as cantref Finioc with the comots of Harfryn, Derfedh, and Iſgeneny.

Caermardhyn.

Cantref Eginoc with theſe Gwyr, now in Glamorgonſhire, Cydweli, and Carnwilheon.

Cantref Bachan with theſe, Malhaen, Caeo, and Maenor Deilo.

Cantref Mawr with theſe, Cethineoc comot mab Elfyw, comot mab Uchdryd and Wydigada. In this ſhire are the towns and caſtles of Caermardhyn, Dynefowr, which was the prince's ſeat of the country, Newtown, Lhandeilo, Lhanymdhyfri, Emlyn, Swanſey, now in Glamorganſhire, called in Welch Abertawy upon the ſea, the caſtle of the ſons of Uchtryd, of Lhanſtephan, and others. It hath upon the weſt Dyfed or Pembrokeſhire, on the north Cardiganſhire, upon the ſouth weſt the ſea, and upon the ſouth eaſt Glamorgan, aud upon the eaſt Brecknockſhire. This is counted the ſtrongeſt part of all South Wales, as that which which is full of high mountains, great woods, and fair rivers, eſpecially Tywy. In this, and in the other two parts of South Wales, were the notableſt acts that this hiſtory treateth of, atchieved and done.

Morganwc. The fourth called Morganwc, now Glamorganſhire, containing four cantreds, with fifteen comots. As cantref Croneth, with theſe comots, Rwngneth ac Afan, Tir yr Hwndrwd, and Maenor Glynogwr.

Cantref

Cantref Pennythen with theſe, Meyſcyn, Glynrhodny, Maenor Talafan, and Maenor Ruthyn.

Cantref Brenhinol with theſe, Cibowr, Senghennyth, Uwchcaeth, and Iſcaeth.

Cantref Gwentlhw, which is now in Monmouthſhire, with theſe comots, y Rhardh Ganol, and Eithafdylgion. In this part are theſe towns and caſtles, Lhandaf the biſhop's ſee, Caerdyffe, called Caerdhyf, Cowbridge, called in Welch Y bont faen, which is as much as to ſay Stonebridge, Lantwyd, Caerffyli, and others, and hath divers rivers which run to the ſouth ſea, as Lay, Taf, Tawy, Neth, Afan, Ogwr, and Lhychwr; it hath on the ſouth, the ſea of Severn, which divideth it from Devonſhire and Cornwall; upon the weſt and north weſt, Caermardhynſhire; upon the north eaſt, Brecknockſhire; and upon the eaſt, Monmouthſhire. Of this you ſhall read very little, for one Ieſtyn being chief of the country, and having war with his neighbours, called one Robert Fitzhamon, with a great number of ſtrangers to his ſuccours, which after they had atchieved the enterpriſe, liked ſo well the country, that they found occaſion to fall out with Ieſtyn, and inhabited the country themſelves and their heirs to this day.

The fifth part was called Gwent and now in Monmouthſhire, which had three cantreds, and ten comots, as cantref Gwent, which hath theſe comots, Y mynyth, Iſcoed Lhefnydh, and Tref y grug.

Cantref Iſcoed theſe, Brynbuga, Uwchcoed, y Teirtref, and Erging ac ewyas, now in Herefordſhire.

Cantref Côch was the ſeventh cantred of Morganwc, which is now in Glouceſterſhire, and is called the Foreſt of Dean.

In this part was the antient city of Caerlheon upon Uſk, where was the archbiſhop's ſee of Wales; here are alſo divers towns and caſtles, as Chepſtow, Glyn, Strigul, Rhos, Tyntern upon the river Wy; there is alſo Newport, called y Caſtelh Newydh, Uyſc called Brynbuga, Groſmont, Raglan, White-caſtle, Abergefenny, and many others. This is a fair and a fertile

tile country, of which likewiſe the gentlemen were never obedient to their prince, which was the cauſe of their own deſtruction. It hath on the weſt Glamorgan and Brecknockſhires, upon the north Herefordſhire, upon the eaſt Glouceſterſhire, with the river Wy, and upon the ſouth and ſouth eaſt Severn.

Brecheinoc. Laſt of all cometh Brecheinoc, now Brecknockſhire, which hath three cantreds, and eight comots. As cantref Selef which hath theſe comots, Selef and Trahayern.

Cantref Canol theſe, Talgarth Yſtradyw and Brwynlhys or Eglwys Yail.

Cantref Mawr theſe, Tir Raulff, Lhywel and Cerrig-Howel. In this part is the town of Brecknock upon the meeting of Uſk and Honddi, and is called Aberhonddi, and Hay called Y Gelhy, with Talgarth, Buelht, Lhangors; it hath weſt Caermardhynſhire, with the river Tywy, upon the north Radnorſhire with Wy, upon the eaſt Herefordſhire and Monmouth, upon the ſouth Glamorgan. This for the moſt part is full of mountains, woods and rivers, eſpecially Buelht. And the lords of this country called Bruces with the Mortimers, moſt of all others lords marches, ſometimes by might, but oftener by treaſon, have moleſted and grieved the princes of Wales. This land came after the Bruces to the Bohuns earls of Hereford, and ſo to the Staffords dukes of Buckingham.

Theſe ſix ſhires being ſubject to the territory of Dynefawr with Radnorſhire, which was belonging to Mathrafal, are now commonly called South Wales, which country is both great and large, with many fair plains and vallies for corn, high mountains and rocks full of paſture for cattle; great and thick woods, with foreſts and parks for red deer and fallow; clear and deep rivers full of fiſh, of which Severn is the chiefeſt, which with Wy and Rheidol ſpring out of a high mountain called Pymlhymon, in the edge of Cardiganſhire, and are called commonly the three ſiſters. Severn runneth full eaſt through Cydewen by the pool, and under the caſtle of Shraden to Shrewſbury, from

whence it turneth ſouthward and runs to Bridgenorth, Bewdley, Worceſter, Gloceſter and ſo to the ſea by Briſtol. The ſecond ſiſter is Gwy, in Engliſh Wy, which took her journey ſouth eaſt, by Rayader Gwy to Buelt, where Irwon meeteth her, thence to Glaſbury, and ſo to Hereford and Monmouth, and to the ſea of Severn at Chepſtow; for ſo they call Môr Hafren the ſea which ſevereth Wales from Somerſetſhire, Devonſhire and Cornwal. The third ſiſter named Rheidol, ran northward to the ſea being not far off, at Aberyſtywth. There be other fair rivers as Uſk, which riſing in a high mountain called y Mynydh dy in the ſouth part of Brecknockſhire runneth to Brecknock, and ſo through Monmouthſhire to the town of Uſk, Caerlheon and Newport, and ſo to the ſaid ſouth ſea. Tywy alſo riſing not far from Wy, runneth ſouth to Lhanymdhyfri, and thence ſouth weſt by Lhandeilo and Dynefawr to Abergwily and Caermardhyn, and ſo by Lhanſtephan to the ſea.

Teifi likewiſe which riſeth in the edge of Caermardhynſhire, and runneth north weſt by Emlyn, Cilgerran, Cardigan, and ſo to the north ſea. In Teifi above all the rivers in Wales, were in Giraldus's time a great number of caſtors, which may be engliſhed bevers, and are called in Welch afanc, which name only remaineth in Wales at this day, but what it is very few can tell. It is a beaſt not much unlike an otter, but that it is bigger, all hairy ſaving the tail, which is like a fiſh tail, as broad as a man's hand. This beaſt uſeth as well the water as the land, and hath very ſharp teeth, and biteth cruelly, till he perceives the bones crack, his ſtones be of great efficacy in phyſic. He that will learn what ſtrong neſts they make, which Giraldus calleth caſtles, which they build upon the face of the water with great boughs which they cut with their teeth, and how ſome lie upon their backs, holding the wood with the fore feet, which the other draweth with a croſs ſtick, the which he holdeth in his mouth to the water ſide, and other particularities of their natures, let him read Giraldus in his topography

κάστωρ Greek, Fiber, Latin, Beaver Engliſh, Afanc Britiſh, Giraldus in Itiner.

of

of Wales. There be beſides theſe a great number of rivers, of which ſome run to the ſouth, and ſome to the weſt and north ſea, as Tywy in Glamorganſhire, Taf alſo in Caermardhynſhire, which runneth to Cledheu, two rivers either called Cledheu, which do give Milford the name of Aberdaugledheu in Pembrokeſhire, Arth, Aeron, and Yſtwyth, in Cardigan. There be alſo divers lordſhips which be added to other ſhires, and were taken heretofore for parts of Wales, and in moſt part of them at this day the Welch language is ſpoken, as Oſweſtry, Knocking, Whittington, Elſiner, Maſbroke, Chirbury, Caurs, Clun, which are now in Shropſhire, Ewyas-Lacy, Ewyas-Haroald, Clifford Winſorton, Yardley, Huntingdon, Whitney, Loghardneys in Herefordſhire. Alſo this country of South Wales as all the reſt of Britain, was firſt inhabited by the Britains, which remain there to this day, ſaving that in divers places, eſpecially along the ſea ſhore, they have been mingled with Saxons, Normans (which the Welch hiſtory calleth Frenchmen) and Flemings; ſo that the princes of Wales, ſince the conqueſt of the Normans, could never keep quiet poſſeſſion thereof, but what for ſtrangers, and what for diſloyalty of their own people, vexation and war, were for the moſt part compelled to keep themſelves in Caermardhynſhire.

The winning of the Lordſhip of *Glamorgan* or *Morgannwc* out of the *Welſhmen*'s Hands, and firſt of the Deſcription of the ſame Lordſhip.

Reprinted from the Edition of 1584.

IN primis, the ſaid lordſhip in length from *Rymny* bridge on the eaſt ſide, to *Pwlh Conan* on the weſt ſide, is 27 miles. The breadth thereof from the haven of *Aburthaw* alias *Aberdaon*, on the ſouth ſide, to the confines of *Bredinockſhire*, above *Morleys* caſtle, is 22 miles. 1

Item the ſame lordſhip, being a lordſhip marcher, or a lordſhip royal, and holden of no other lordſhip, the lords ever ſince the winning of the ſame, owing their obedience only to the crown, have uſed therein *jura regalia*: that is, the trial of all actions, as well real as perſonal, with pleas of the crown, and authority to pardon all offences, treaſon only excepted. 2

Item there were 11 lordſhips, to wit, *Senghennyth*, *Myſkyn*, *Ruthin*, *Lhanblethian*, *Tir Iarlh*, *Glyn Rothney*, *Auan*, *Neth*, *Coyty*, *Talauan* and *Lhantuit*, alias, *Bouiarton*, that were members of the ſaid lordſhip of *Glamorgan*. In every of the members were the like *jura regalia* uſed in all things, ſaving that if any wrong judgement were given in any of the courts of the ſaid members, it ſhould be reverſed by a writ of falſe judgement in the county court of *Glamorgan*, as ſuperior court to the ſaid members. Alſo all matters of conſcience happening in debate in any of the ſaid members, ſhould be heard and determined in the chancery of *Glamorgan*, before the chancellor thereof. 3

Item, the body of the ſaid lordſhip of *Glamorgan* was (before the alteration of the laws in *Wales*) a county of itſelf, wherein the lord had two caſtles and three market towns, to wit, the caſtle and town of *Kynfigs*, alias *Kefnffigen*, in the weſt part thereof, and *Cowbridge* town, alias *Pont vaen*, in the middeſt. And the 4

the town and caſtle of *Cardyff*, or *Caer-Dhydh*, in the eaſt part, in which caſtle of *Cardyff*, the lord did moſt inhabit; and therein he had his Chancery and Exchequer, and a fair court houſe, wherein the county court was monthly kept on the Monday for all the ſuiters of the ſhrievalty, that is, of the body of the ſaid lordſhip itſelf, without the ſaid members.

5 Item, within the ſaid ſhrievalty, or body of the ſaid lordſhip, were 18 caſtles, and 36 knight's fees and an half, that held of the ſaid lordſhip of *Glamorgan* by knights ſervice, beſides a great number of freeholders.

6 Item, in eight of the ſaid members were ten caſtles and four borough towns.

7 Item, the annual revenues of the ſaid lordſhip, with the members, was 1000 marks, whereof was allowed in fees 400 marks; of the which members aforeſaid, *John Gamage*, Eſq; occupieth one at this day, deſcended unto him from the *Turberuiles* his anceſtors, that is to wit, the lordſhip of *Coytie:* and the heir of *John Baſſet* enjoyeth another, to wit, the lordſhip of *Talauan*, by purchaſe from King *Edward* the ſixth. The other nine members, with four of the aforeſaid knights fees, and all the caſtles, market towns, and borough towns, with the demeſnes of the ſame; and all the lands that were in the lords hands, parcel of the ſaid lordſhip and members, the earl of *Penbroke* hath purchaſed. So that there remaineth now to the ſenior of the ſaid lordſhip of *Glamorgan* (being in the Queen's Majeſty's hands) but the moity only of the manor of *Dynaſpowys*, of the value of 26 pounds by the year.

The value of the ſeniory, before the purchaſe thereof.

The value of the ſeniory now.

The Manner of the winning of the ſaid Lordſhip.

1091 IN the year of our Lord 1091, and in the fourth year of the reign of King *William Rufus*, one *Ieſtyn* the ſon of *Gungant*, being lord of the ſaid lordſhip of *Glamorgan*, *Rees ap Theodoc*, prince of *South Wales*,

Wales, that is, of *Caermarthyneſhire* and *Cardiganſhire*, made war upon him. Whereupon the ſaid *Ieſtyn*, underſtanding himſelf unable to withſtand the ſaid *Rees* without ſome aid otherwiſe, ſent one *Eneon*, a gentleman of his, to *England*, to one *Robertus Fitzhamon*, a worthy man, and knight of the privy chamber with the ſaid king, to retain him for his ſuccour. The which *Robert*, being deſirous to exerciſe himſelf in the feats of war, agreed ſoon with him thereto for a ſalary to him granted for the ſame. Whereupon the ſaid *Robert Fitzhamon* retained to his ſervice for the ſaid journey, twelve knights, and a competent number of ſoldiers, and went into *Wales*, and joining there with the power of the ſaid *Ieſtyn*, fought with the ſaid *Rees ap Tewdor* and killed him, and one *Conan* his ſon. After which victory, the ſaid *Robert Fitzhamon*, minding to return home again with his company, demanded his ſalary to him due of the ſaid *Ieſtyn*, according to the covenants and promiſes agreed upon between him and the aforeſaid *Eneon*, on the behalf of the ſaid *Ieſtyn* his maſter. The which to perform in all points, the ſaid *Ieſtyn* denied; and thereupon they fell out, ſo that it came to be tried by battle. And forſomuch as the ſaid *Eneon* ſaw his maſter go from divers articles and promiſes that he had willed him to conclude with the ſaid *Robert Fitzhamon*, on his behalf, he forſook his maſter, and took part, he and his friends, with the ſaid *Robert Fitzhamon*. In the which conflict, the ſaid *Ieſtyn* with a great number of his men were ſlain, whereby the ſaid *Robert Fitzhamon* won the peaceable poſſeſſion of the whole lordſhip of *Glamorgan*, with the members, of the which he gave certain caſtles and manors, in reward of ſervice, to the ſaid twelve knights, and to other his gentlemen.

The

The Names and Sirnames of the ſaid Twelve Knights were theſe.

1 *WILLIAM de Londres*, alias *London.*
2 *Richardus de Grana villa*, alias *Greenfeeld.*
3 *Paganus de Turberuile.*
4 *Robertus de S. Quintino*, alias *S. Quintine.*
5 *Richardus de Syward.*
6 *Gilbertus de Humfrevile.*
7 *Rogerus de Berkrolles.*
8 *Reginaldus de Sully.*
9 *Peter le Soore.*
10 *Johannes le Fleming.*
11 *Oliverus de S. John*, a younger brother of the Lord *S. John*, of *Baſing.*
12 *William le Eſterling*, whoſe anceſtors came out of *Danſke* to *England* with the *Danes*, and is now by ſhortneſs of ſpeech called *Stradling.*

The Parcels given by the ſaid *Robert Fitzhamon* to the ſaid Twelve Knights and others, in Reward of Service.

1 Ogmor. IN primis, to the ſaid *William de Londres*, the ſaid *Robert Fitzhamon* gave the caſtle and manor of *Ogmor*, being four knights fees; now parcel of the poſſeſſions of the duchy of *Lancaſter.*

2 Neth. Item, to the forenamed Sir *Richard Greenfeeld*, he gave the caſtle and lordſhip of *Neth*, being one of the members aforeſaid; and now parcel of the poſſeſſions of the Right Hon. the Earl of *Penbroke.*

3 Coyty. Item, to Sir *Paine Turberuile*, he gave the caſtle and lordſhip of *Coyty*, being another of the ſaid members; and now parcel of the poſſeſſions of *John Gamage*, Eſq.

4 Lhan Blethyan. Item, to Sir *Robert S. Quintine* he gave the caſtle and lordſhip of *Lhan Blethan*, being another of the ſaid members,

members; and now parcel of the poſſeſſions of *S. William Herbert*, of *Swanſey*, Knt.

Item, to Sir *Richard Syward*, he gave the caſtle and lordſhip of *Talauan*, being another of the ſaid members; and now parcel of the poſſeſſions of *Anthony Maunſell*, Eſq. 5 Talauan.

Item, to Sir *Gilbert Humfrevile*, he gave the caſtle and manor of *Penmarke*, being three knights fees; now parcel of the poſſeſſions of the Right Hon. Lord St. *John*, of *Bledſo*. 6 Penmarke.

Item, to Sir *Reginald de Sully*, he gave the caſtle and manor of *Sully*, ſo ſince called after his name, being two knights fees; now divided betwixt the Earl of *Penbroke*, and the Lord *St. John*, of *Bledſo*. 7 Sully.

Item, to Sir *Roger Berkrolles*, he gave the manor of *Eaſt Orchard*, being one knight's fee; now parcel of the poſſeſſions of *S. William Herbert*, of *Swanſey*. 8 Eaſt Orchard.

Item, to Sir *Peter le Soore*, he gave the caſtle and manor of *Peterton*, ſo now called after his name, being one knight's fee; now parcel of the poſſeſſions of the Earl of *Penbroke*. 9 Peterton.

Item, to Sir *John Fleming*, he gave the caſtle and manor of *St. George*, being one knight's fee; and holden of his poſterity the *Flemings* to this day. 10 S. George.

Item, to Sir *John St. John*, he gave the caſtle and manor of *Fonmon* or *Fenuon*, being one knight's fee; and now parcel of the poſſeſſions of the Lord *St. John*, of *Bledſo*. 11 Fonmon.

Item, to Sir *William le Eſterling*, alias *Stradling*, he gave the caſtle and manor of *St. Donats*, or *St. Denwit*, being one knight's fee; now parcel of the poſſeſſions of Sir *Edward Stradling*, Knt. that now is. 12 S. Donat's.

Sum. Four Lordſhips Members, and Thirteen Knights Fees.

ITEM, he gave to the aforeſaid *Eneon* that took his part, the lordſhip of *Senghennyth*, being another of the ſaid members. 13

14 Item, he gave the caſtle and lordſhip of *Auan*, another of the ſaid members, to *Caradoc Fitz Ieſtyn*, the eldeſt ſon of the ſaid *Ieſtyn*.

15 Item, he gave the lordſhip of *Ruthyn*, another of the ſaid members, to another ſon of the ſaid *Ieſtyn*.

16 Item, the reſt of the foreſaid knights fees, being twenty-two and an half, he diſtributed part to gentlemen that ſerved him, and part to the *Welſhmen*, right owners of the ſame.

The Portion that the Lord kept for himſelf and his Heirs.

THE caſtle of *Cardyff* and *Kenfigg*, with the foreſaid three market towns of *Cardyff*, *Kenfigg*, and *Cowbrige*, and the ſhrievalty, being the body of the ſaid lordſhip of *Glamorgan*, and all the demeſnes of the ſame, with the reſt of the ſaid members; to wit, *Miſkyn*, *Glynrothney*, *Tyr Iarl*, and *Boviarton*, alias *Lentwit*: and the chief ſeniory of the whole, the ſaid *Robert Fitzhamon* kept to himſelf. And in the ſaid lordſhip of *Boviarton*, he had a large grange or houſe of huſbandry, with lands to the ſame belonging, that ſerved him for the proviſion of corn to his houſe. He dwelt himſelf moſt in the ſaid caſtle or town of *Cardyff*, being a fair haven town. And becauſe he would have the aforeſaid twelve knights and their heirs give attendance upon him every county day (which was always kept by the ſheriff in the utter ward of the ſaid caſtle, on the Monday monthly as is before ſaid) he gave every one of them a lodging within the ſaid utter ward, the which their heirs, or thoſe that purchaſed the ſame of their heirs, do enjoy at this day.

Alſo the morrow after the county day, being the Tueſday, the lord's chancellor ſat always in the Chancery there, for the determining of matters of conſcience in ſtrife, happening as well in the ſaid ſhrievalty as in the

the members; the which day alſo, the ſaid knights uſed to give attendance upon the lord; and the Wedneſday every man drew homeward, and then began the courts of the members to be kept in order, one after another.

The Pedigree of *Robert Fitzhamon*, and of his Heirs, Lords of *Glamorgan*.

1 THE ſaid *Robert Fitzhamon*, was ſon to *Hamon*, a great lord, and kinſman of *William* the *Conqueror*, who came into the realm with him. This *Robert* (as is before ſaid) was knight of the privy chamber with King *William Rufus*; who (as it appeareth in the Chronicles) dreamed the night before the king was killed, that he ſaw the king torn in pieces by wolves; and therefore, by his perſuaſion, he willed the king to forbear to go abroad that forenoon. But the king, when he had dined, there was no man able to ſtay him, but that he would ride forth a hunting into the new foreſt, where he was ſlain by *Walter Tyrrell*, by the glancing of his arrow ſhooting at a red deer.

Some do affirm that he was lord of Aſtrevile in Normandy.

Matt. Weſt. lib. 2, p. 21. I. Caſtor. Matt. Paris, page 22.

2 *Mawd*, the only daughter and heireſs of the ſaid *Robert*, was married to *Robert*, Earl of *Gloceſter*, baſe ſon to King *Henry* the firſt.

3 *William*, Earl of *Gloceſter*, ſon to the ſaid *Robert* and *Mawd*, died without iſſue male, leaving behind him three daughters; of the which, *Iſabel*, the eldeſt, was married to King *John*, then Earl of *Oxenford* and *Lancaſter* (as ſome chronicles do declare) who ſo ſoon as he was made king was divorced from her. And then ſhe was married to *Geffrey Mandevile*, Earl of *Eſſex*, and died without iſſue, as far as I can find.

4 The ſecond daughter named *Amicia*, was married to Sir *Gilbart de Clare*, then Earl of *Clare*, by whom

he had the earldom of *Gloceſter*. And *Mabile*, the third daughter was married to the Earl of *Eureux*.

5 Sir *Gilbart de Clare*, ſon to the ſaid *Gilbart*, was the fourth Earl of *Gloceſter*.

6 Sir *Richard de Clare*'s ſon was the fifth earl.

7 Sir *Gilbart*'s ſon was the ſixth earl.

8 Sir *Gilbart*'s ſon, who married *Jane de Acres*, daughter to King *Edward* I. was the ſeventh earl.

9 Sir *Gilbart de Clare* their ſon was the eighth earl, and he was ſlain by the *Scots* in King *Edward* the Second's time; and then the earldom fell between his three ſiſters. Of the which *Elianor* the eldeſt was married to *Hugh Spenſer* the ſon, in her right Earl of *Gloceſter*. *Margaret* the ſecond was married to *Peires Gaueſton*, and after to the Lord *Awdeley*. *Elizabeth* the third was married firſt to *William Lord Burgh*, Earl of *Ulſter*, and after to *Ralph Roch*, Baron of *Armoy*, in *Ireland*; ſhe was married the third time to *Theobald L. Verdoun*, and laſtly to Sir *Roger Damory*, and had iſſue by every one of them.

10 Sir *Hugh Spencer* had to his wives purpartee the ſaid lordſhip of *Glamorgan*.

11 Sir *Hugh* Lord *Spencer* their ſon enjoyed the ſame, and died without iſſue.

12 *Edward* Lord *Spencer*, ſon to *Edward*, brother to the ſaid *Hugh*, ſucceeded the ſaid *Hugh* therein.

13 *Thomas* Lord *Spencer*, his ſon, ſucceeded him.

14 *Richard* Lord *Spencer*, his ſon, ſucceeded him, and died in ward.

15 *Iſabell*, ſiſter to *Richard*, ſucceeded him, and married with *Richard Beauchamp*, Earl of *Worceſter*, and Lord *Burgavenny*, who had iſſue by her a daughter only, and died. The which daughter was married to *Edward*, the ſon of *Dawraby*, *Ralph Neuel*, Earl of *Weſtmoreland*. And after the death of the ſaid Earl of *Worceſter*, the ſaid *Iſabell* married

married with *Richard Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*.

16 *Henry Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, and after Duke of *Warwick*, their ſon died without iſſue.

17 *Anne* his ſiſter of whole blood ſucceeded him, and married with *Richard Neuel*, after Earl of *Saliſburie*, and in her right Earl of *Warwick*; and had iſſue two daughters, *Marie*, married to the Duke *Clarence*, and *Anne*, married firſt to Prince *Edward*, ſlain at *Teuxburie*, and after his death with *Richard*, Duke of *Gloceſter*, who was afterward King of *England*.

18 The ſaid *Anne* and King *Richard* (being then Duke of *Gloceſter*) had the ſaid lordſhip given unto them by the ſaid *Anne*, Counteſs of *Warwick*, her mother.

19 King *Henry* the Seventh enjoyed the ſame after the death of King *Richard*.

20 *Ieſper*, Duke of *Bedford*, enjoyed the ſame by the gift of King *Henry* the Seventh, and died without iſſue; and by reaſon thereof it remained to the king again.

21 King *Henry* the Eighth enjoyed the ſame after his father.

22 King *Edward* the Sixth ſucceeded him therein, and ſold almoſt all the lands thereof.

23 Queen *Mary* ſucceeded him in the ſeniory.

24 Queen *Elizabeth* our moſt dread ſovereign that now is, doth ſucceed her in the ſame ſeniory, and hath ſold the lordſhip of *Neth* from it; ſo that now there remain no more lands appertaining to the ſeniory, but the moity of the manor of *Deinaſpowys* only.

The Pedigree of *Londres*, Lord of *Ogmore*, one of the ſaid Twelve.

1 *WILLIAM Londres*, lord of the caſtle and manor of *Ogmore* (as is before ſaid) won afterwards the lordſhips of *Kydwelhey* and *Carnewilhion*, in *Caermarthenſhire*, from the *Welſhmen*; and gave to Sir *Arnold Butler*, his ſervant, the caſtle and manor of *Dunreeven*, in the lordſhip of *Ogmore* aforeſaid. The which ever ſince hath continued in the heirs male of the ſaid *Arnold Butler*, until within theſe few years that it fell to *Walter Vaghan*, ſiſter's ſon to *Arnold Butler*, the laſt of the *Butlers* that was owner thereof.

2 *Simon de Londres*, his ſon, ſucceeded him.

3 *William de Londres* ſucceeded his father *Simon*, and had iſſue one ſon.

4 *Moris de Londres*, his ſon, ſucceeded him, and had iſſue one only daughter.

5 The ſaid daughter married with one *Seward*, a man of great poſſeſſions.

6 They had iſſue a daughter only, married to *Henrie*, Earl of *Lancaſter*, brother to *Thomas*, Earl of *Lancaſter*.

7 *Henrie* their ſon, made afterwards Duke of *Lancaſter*, did ſucceed them; and ſo the ſaid three lordſhips, *Ogmore*, *Kydwelhey*, and *Carnewilhion*, became parcels of the Duchy of *Lancaſter* ever after.

The Pedigree of *Greenefeeld*.

SIR *Richard Greenefeeld* before ſaid (to whom the lordſhip of *Neth* was given in reward) was lord of the caſtle and manor of *Bydyford*, in *Devonſhire*, at the time he came into *Wales* with the ſaid *Robert Fitzhamon*, and founded an abby of white monks in *Neth*, and gave the whole lordſhip to the maintenance of the ſame, and then returned back again to *Bydyford*, whereas the iſſue male of his body doth yet remain, and enjoyeth the ſame.

The

The Pedigree of *Turberuile*, Lord of *Coytÿ*.

1 SIR *Paine Turberuile*, Lord of *Coyty*, as is before ſaid.

2 Sir *Simon Turberuile* ſucceeded him, and died without iſſue.

3 Sir *Gilbart Turberuile* ſucceeded his brother.

4 Sir *Paine Turberuile*, his ſon ſucceeded him, and married *Mawd*, daughter and ſole heir to *Morgan Gam*, one of the nephews of the aforeſaid *Ieſtyn*.

5 Sir *Gilbart* their ſon quartered *Ieſtyn*'s arms with *Turberuile's*.

6 Sir *Gilbart*, his ſon, ſucceeded him.

7 Sir *Richard*, his ſon, ſucceeded him.

8 Sir *Paine*, his ſon, ſucceeded him, who married with *Wenlhian*, daughter to Sir *Richard Talbot*, Knt. and had iſſue by her, two ſons, that is to wit, *Gilbart* and *Richard*; and four daughters, namely, *Catharine*, *Margaret*, *Agnes*, and *Sara*.

9 Sir *Gilbart* ſucceeded Sir *Paine* his father.

10 Sir *Gilbart*, his ſon, ſucceeded him, and died without iſſue.

11 Sir *Richard*, his father's brother, ſucceeded him, and having no iſſue, entailed the lordſhip of *Coity* to the heirs male of Sir *Roger Berkerolles*, Knt.

1 Sir *Roger Berkerolles*, Knt. ſon to Sir *William Berkerolles*, Knt. and *Phelice* his wife, one of the daughters of *Veere*, Earl of *Oxenford*, which ſaid Sir *Roger* had married *Catharine*, the eldeſt ſiſter of the ſaid Sir *Richard*. And for default of ſuch iſſue, the remainder to the heirs male of Sir *Ri-*
2 *chard Stakepoole*, Knt. who married with *Margaret*,
3 ſecond ſiſter of the ſaid *Richard*. And for default of ſuch iſſue, the remainder to the heirs of Sir *John de la Beare*, Knt. and *Agnes* his wife, the
4 third ſiſter to the ſaid *Richard*. And for lack of ſuch iſſue male, the remainder to the heirs male of *William Gamage*, and of *Sara* his wife, the fourth ſiſter to the ſaid Sir *Richard Turberuile*.

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5 The ſaid daughter married with one *Seward*, a man of great poſſeſſions.

6 They had iſſue a daughter only, married to *Henrie*, Earl of *Lancaſter*, brother to *Thomas*, Earl of *Lancaſter*.

7 *Henrie* their ſon, made afterwards Duke of *Lancaſter*, did ſucceed them; and ſo the ſaid three lordſhips, *Ogmore*, *Kydwelhey*, and *Carnewilhion*, became parcels of the Duchy of *Lancaſter* ever after.

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The Pedigree of *Turberuile*, Lord of *Coyty*.

1 SIR *Paine Turberuile*, Lord of *Coyty*, as is before ſaid.

2 Sir *Simon Turberuile* ſucceeded him, and died without iſſue.

3 Sir *Gilbart Turberuile* ſucceeded his brother.

4 Sir *Paine Turberuile*, his ſon ſucceeded him, and married *Mawd*, daughter and ſole heir to *Morgan Gam*, one of the nephews of the aforeſaid *Ieſtyn*.

5 Sir *Gilbart* their ſon quartered *Ieſtyn*'s arms with *Turberuile's*.

6 Sir *Gilbart*, his ſon, ſucceeded him.

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8 Sir *Paine*, his ſon, ſucceeded him, who married with *Wenlhian*, daughter to Sir *Richard Talbot*, Knt. and had iſſue by her, two ſons, that is to wit, *Gilbart* and *Richard*; and four daughters, namely, *Catharine*, *Margaret*, *Agnes*, and *Sara*.

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2 *chard Stakepoole*, Knt. who married with *Margaret*,
3 ſecond ſiſter of the ſaid *Richard*. And for default of ſuch iſſue, the remainder to the heirs of Sir *John de la Beare*, Knt. and *Agnes* his wife, the
4 third ſiſter to the ſaid *Richard*. And for lack of ſuch iſſue male, the remainder to the heirs male of *William Gamage*, and of *Sara* his wife, the fourth ſiſter to the ſaid Sir *Richard Turberuile*.

The ſaid *Berkrolles*, *Stakepoole*, or *Stacpoole*, and *De la Beare*, died without iſſue male*, by reaſon whereof, after the death of Sir *Laurence Berkerolles*, Knt. ſon to the ſaid Sir *Roger*, and *Catharine* his wife; the ſaid lordſhip fell to Sir *William Gamage*, ſon to *Gilbert*, ſon to the foreſaid *William Gamage*, and *Sara*. The ſaid *William* was ſon to Sir *Robert Gamage*, Knt. ſon to *Paine Gamage*, lord of the manor of *Rogiade*, in the county of *Monmowth*. The foreſaid Sir *William* had iſſue *Thomas*, *Thomas* had iſſue *John*, *John* had iſſue *Morgan*, *Morgan* had iſſue Sir *Thomas Gamage*, Knt. and *Margaret*, wife to *Ienkin Thomas*, and *Anne*, wife to *Robert Raglan*, and *Catharine*, wife to *Reginald ap Howel*, and *Wenlhian*, wife to *Thomas ap Meyric*.

The ſaid Sir *Thomas Gamage* had iſſue *Robert Gamage*, that late was; *Catharine* his eldeſt daughter, wife to Sir *Thomas Stradling*, Knt. *Marie* the ſecond daughter, wife to *Matthew Herebert*; *Margaret* the third daughter, wife to the Lord *William Howard*;

* *Robert*, the only brother of the ſaid Sir *RICHARD STACPOOLE*, married a daughter of Sir *John Sitſylt*, or *Cecill*.

Sir *William Stacpoole*, his eldeſt ſon, married a daughter of *Howel ap Ithel*, Lord of *Roos* and *Rynonioc*, now *Denbighland*. The ſaid Sir *WILLIAM STACPOOLE* had a command in an army, raiſed in the reign of King *Stephen*, againſt *David*, King of *Scots*, but died young, leaving three ſons and one daughter.

Sir *RICHARD STACPOOLE*, his eldeſt ſon, of *STACPOOLE*, in the county of *Pembrooke*, married a daughter of Sir *Henry Vernon*, of *Haddon*, in the *Peke*.

No mention is made of the ſecond ſon; but *Robert*, the youngeſt ſon, encouraged by his couſin *Robert Fitzſtephen*, went over to *Ireland* with *Richard*, Earl of *Strigule*, known by the name of *Strongbow*, and was a captain of archers in that diviſion of the army that *Fitzſtephen* commanded under *Strongbow*, in the year 1168, the fourteenth year of King *Henry* the Second.

The ſaid *ROBERT STACPOOLE* afterwards ſettled in *Ireland*, and his lineal deſcendant has a large property in the county of *Clare* in that kingdom.

The old manſion of *STACPOOLE* Court, and a large eſtate in *Pembrookeſhire*, deſcended to a grand daughter of the ſecond Sir *RICHARD STACPOOLE*, and is now the property of the ſon of the late *Pryſe Campbell*, Eſq; who was member for that county, and died in 1769.

and

and *Elizabeth* the fourth daughter, wife to *Richard Hogan*, of *Penbrookeſhire*, Eſq. The ſaid *Robert Gamage* had iſſue *John Gamage*, that now is.

1 Sole heir general to the ſaid Sir *Roger Berkrolles*, Knt. and *Catharine*, one of the four ſiſters, and heirs general to the aforeſaid Sir *Richard Turberuile*, Knt. is Sir *Edward Stradling*, Knt. that now is.

2 Sole heir general to the ſaid Sir *Richard Stakepoole*, of *Penbrookeſhire*, and *Margaret* his wife, another of the four ſiſters, and heirs general to the ſaid Sir *Richard Turberuile*, Knt. is Sir *George Vernon*, Knt.

3 Heirs general to the ſaid Sir *John de la Beare*, Knt. and *Agnes* his wife, another of the four ſiſters, and heirs general of the ſaid Sir *Richard Turberuile*, Knt, are *Oliuer S. John*, Lord *S. John*, of *Bledſo*, and *William Baſſet*, of *Glamorgan*, Eſq. that now is.

4 *John Gamage*, Eſq. that now is, is as well heir general lineally deſcended from *Sara* the fourth ſiſter, and heir to the ſaid Sir *Richard Turberuile*, Knt. as alſo heir by the entail aforeſaid, to the whole lordſhip of *Coyty*.

Robert de S. Quintine, his Pedigree.

SIR *Robert de S. Quintine*, to whom the lordſhip of *Lhanblethian* was given, and his iſſue male enjoyed the ſame, until King *Henry* the Third's time. And then, or in ſhort time after, his iſſue male failed, of whom is deſcended Sir *William Parr*, late Marquiſs of *Northampton*.

Richard de Syward, his Pedigree.

SIR *Richard Syward*, to whom the lordſhip of *Talauan* was given, and his iſſue male, enjoyed the ſame until King Edward the Third's time; at which time the heirs thereof having other lands in *Somerſetſhire*, ſold the ſaid lordſhip to the Lord *Spencer*, then Lord of *Glamorgan*, and went into *Somerſetſhire*, to dwell there, where his iſſue male continueth yet.

Gilbert

Gilbert de Humfreuile, his Pedigree.

SIR *Gilbert Humfreuile* aforeſaid, to whom the caſtle and manor of *Penmarke* was given, and his iſſue male, enjoyed the ſame till the ſaid King *Edward* the Third's time; and then the inheritance of the ſaid caſtle and manor deſcended to Sir *John S. John*, of *Fonmon*, Knt. to whom the forenamed Lord *S. John*, of *Bledſo*, is ſole heir.

Roger de Berkerolles, Knt. his Pedigree.

SIR *Roger Berkerolles* aforeſaid knight, to whom the manor of *Eaſt Orchard* was given; and his iſſue male, enjoyed the ſame till the thirteenth year of *Henrie* the Fouth; that Sir *Laurence Berkerolles*, Knt. died, whom Sir *Edward Stradling*, Knt. as ſole heir did ſucceed, being ſon to Sir *William Stradling*, Knt. ſon to Sir *Edward Stradling*, Knt. and *Wenlhian* ſole ſiſter and heir to the ſaid Sir *Laurence*, of whom *Edward Stradling*, Knt. (that now is) is lineally deſcended.

Reginald de Sully, Knt. his Pedigree.

SIR *Reginald de Sully*, to whom the caſtle and manor of *Sully* was given, and his iſſue male, enjoyed the ſame until about King *Edward* the Firſt's time. And then it fell to a daughter married to Sir *Morgan de Avan*, Lord of the lordſhip of *Avan* above named; whoſe ſon, Sir *John de Avan*, had but one daughter, of whom Sir *George Blunt*, of *Shropſhire*, is lineally deſcended as ſole heir, whoſe anceſtor gave the ſaid lordſhip of *Avan*, and the caſtle and manor of *Sully* to the Lord *Spencer*, in exchange for other lands in *England*.

Peter

Peter le Soore, Knt. his Pedigree.

SIR *Peter le Soore*, Knt. to whom was given the caſtle and manor of *Peter's Towne*, and his iſſue male, enjoyed the ſame until King *Henry* the Fourth's time, and then died without iſſue, and his inheritance fell between divers.

John le Fleming, Knt. his Pedigree.

SIR *John le Fleming*, Knt. to whom the caſtle and manor of *S. George* was given, and his iſſue male, enjoyed the ſame until King *Henry* the Fourth's time; and then it fell to *Edmond Malefant*, who had married a daughter to the laſt *Fleming*. And in King *Henry* the Seventh's time the *Malefants* iſſue by *Flemings* daughter failed; and then it fell to *John Butler*, of *Dunreeven* above named, Eſq. and after the death of him and of *Arnold* his ſon, both the inheritances of *Fleming* and *Butler* fell to *Walter Vaghan*, of *Brodemard*, in the county of *Hereford*, Eſq. now living, ſiſter's ſon to the ſaid *Arnold Butler*.

Oliuer de S. John, Knt. his Pedigree.

SIR *Oliuer S. John*, Knt. to whom the caſtle and manor of *Fonmon* was given, and his heirs male have ever ſince enjoyed the ſame, to whom the above named Lord *S. John*, of *Bledſo*, that now is, is ſole heir; whoſe anceſtors from the winning of the ſaid lordſhip or *Glamorgan* out of the *Welſhmens* hands, have continually dwelt at *Fonmon* aforeſaid, until the latter time of King *Edward* the Fourth. That *John S. John*, Eſq. had the ſaid lordſhip of *Bledſo*, and many other poſſeſſions beſides, by the death of dame *Margaret Beauchampe*, his mother, who was alſo mother to *Margaret*, Ducheſs of *Somerſet*, mother to King *Henry* the Seventh. Since which time the ſaid *John S. John*, and Sir *John S. John*, Knt. father to my lord that now is, have always dwelt in *Bledſo*, but they do keep their lands in *Wales* ſtill in their hands.

William le Eſterling, alias *Stradling*, his Pedigree.

1 SIR *William Eſterling*, Knt. to whom the caſtle and manor of *S. Donat*'s was given.
2 Sir *John le Eſterling*, Knt. his ſon, ſucceeded him.
3 Sir *Morris le Eſterling*, Knt. his ſon, ſucceeded him.
4 Sir *Robert le* Eſterling, Knt. (moſt commonly called *Stradling* by ſhortneſs of ſpeech and change of ſome letters) ſucceeded him.
5 Sir *Gilbert Stradling*, Knt. his ſon, ſucceeded him.
6 Sir *William Stradling*, Knt. his ſon, ſucceeded him.
7 Sir *John Stradling*, Knt. his ſon, ſucceeded him.

It doth not appear in what ſtock or ſirname any of theſe ſeven knights above named did marry; but the names of the wives of *William* the firſt, *Robert*, and *John* the ſecond, were *Hawiſia*, *Mathilda*, and *Cicilia*.

8 Sir *Peter Stradling*, Knt. his ſon, ſucceeded him, who in the beginning of King *Edward* the Firſt's time and reign married *Iulian*, ſole daughter and heir of *Thomas Hawey*, by whom he had three manors, *Hawey* and *Combawey*, in *Somerſetſhire*, yet remaining to his heirs, and *Compton Hawey*, in *Dorcetſhire*, ſold of late years.
9 Sir *Edward Stradling*, Knt. their ſon, ſucceeded them, and he quartered the *Haweys'* arms with his, and married with *Elianor*, daughter and heir to *Gilbert Strangbow*, a younger brother, whoſe wife was daughter and heir to *Richard Garnon*, and had by her two manors in *Oxefordſhire*.
10 Sir *Edward Stradling*, Knt. his ſon, ſucceeded him, and married with *Wenlhian*, daughter to *Roger Berkrolles*, Knt. and ſole ſiſter and heir to Sir *Laurence Berkrolles*, Knt. as it happened afterward.
11 Sir *William Stradling*, Knt. his ſon, married with *Iſabel*, daughter and heir to *John S. Barbe*, of *Somerſetſhire*; but he had no lands by her, for it was entailed

entailed to the heirs male. This Sir *William*, in King *Richard* the Second's time, went a pilgrimage to *Ieruſalem*, and received there alſo the orders of knighthood of the ſepulchre of Chriſt.

12 Sir *Edward Stradling*, Knt. his ſon, ſucceeded him, who, becauſe he was ſole heir general to the ſaid *S. Barbe*, did quarter *S. Barbe*'s arms with his. To whom alſo (in the thirteenth year of King *Henry* the Fourth) fell the whole inheritance of the *Berkerolles*, and the right of the fourth part of *Turberuile*'s inheritance, Lord of *Coyty* aforeſaid; the which, for lack of iſſue male of the ſaid *Berkerolles*, remained to *Gamage* and to his heirs male by the eſpecial entail aforeſaid. The which Sir *Edward* did quarter not only the ſaid *Berkerolles*' arms with his, but alſo the *Turberuiles* and *Ieſtynes* arms; of whom the *Turberuiles* had in marriage one of the inheritors, as is before ſaid; becauſe the ſaid Sir *Edward* was one of the four heirs general to Sir *Richard Turberuile*, to wit, ſon to Sir *William Stradling*, ſon to *Wenlhian*, ſiſter and heir to the ſaid *Laurence Berkerolles*, and daughter to *Catharine*, eldeſt ſiſter, and one of the four heirs general to the aforeſaid Sir *Richard Turberuile*.

The ſaid Sir *Edward* married with *Jane*, daughter to *Henry Beauford*, afterwards Cardinal, begotten (before he was prieſt) upon *Alice*, one of the daughters of *Richard*, Earl of *Arundell*; and in the beginning of King *Henry* the Seventh's reign, he went likewiſe on pilgrimage unto *Ieruſalem*, as his father did, and received the order of the ſepulchre there.

This Sir *Edward* had to his brother Sir *John Stradling*, Knt. who married with the heir of *Dauncy*, in *Wiltſhire*, and had iſſue Sir *Edmond*, who had iſſue *John* and *Edmond*. *John* had iſſue *Anne*, Lady *Davers*, of whom the *Davers*, *Hugerfordes*, *Fynes*, and *Leuet*, and a great progeny of them are deſcended; and of the ſaid *Edmond* cometh *Carnyſoyes*, of *Cornewal*.

The ſaid *Edward* had another brother called *William*, of whom *Stradling* of *Ruthyn* and others are deſcended; the ſame *William* had a daughter named *Wenlhian*, who, by the Earl of *Ryuers*, had a daughter, married to Sir *Robert Poynes*, of whom cometh all the *Poynes*, the *Newtons*, *Perots*, and others.

13 Sir *Harrie Stradling*, Knt. his ſon, ſucceeded him, and married with *Elizabeth*, ſiſter of whole blood to Sir *William Herbert*, Knt. Earl of *Penbrooke*, and had iſſue by her one ſon and two daughters; one of them was married to *Myles ap Harry*, of whom Mrs. *Blanch ap Harrie* and her brethren and uncles are deſcended; the other daughter was married to *Fleming*, of *Monton*, in *Wales*.

This Sir *Harrie*, in the ſixteenth year of King *Edward* the Fourth, went in like manner on pilgrimage to *Ieruſalem*, and received the order of the ſepulchre there, as his father and grandfather did, and died in the Iſle of *Cypres* in his coming home; whoſe book is to be ſeen as yet, with a letter that his man brought from him to his lady and wife. The ſaying is, that divers of his ſaid anceſtors made the like pilgrimage, but there remaineth no memory in writing but of theſe three.

This Sir *Harrie*, ſailing from his houſe in *Somerſetſhire* to his houſe in *Wales*, was taken priſoner by a *Brytaine* pirate, named *Colyn Dolphyn*, whoſe redemption and charges ſtood him in 2000 marks; for the payment whereof he was driven to ſell the caſtle and manor of *Baſſelek* and *Sutton*, in *Monmouthſhire*, and the manors in *Oxfordſhire*.

14 *Thomas Stradling*, Eſq. his ſon, ſucceeded him, and married *Ienet*, daughter to *Thomas Matthew*, of *Rayder*, Eſq. and had iſſue by her two ſons, *Edward* and *Harrie*, and one daughter named *Jane*, and died before he was twenty-ſix years of age. After whoſe death, his wife married with Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, Knight of the Garter. *Harrie* married with the daughter and heir of *Thomas Iubb*, learned in the law, and had iſſue by her *Francis*

Stradling,

Stradling, of *S. George*, of *Briſtow*, yet living. *Jane* was married to Sir *William Gruffyth*, of *North Wales*, Knt. and had iſſue by her three ſons, *Edward*, Sir *Rice Gruffyth*, Knt. and *John*, and ſeven daughters. The eldeſt married to *Stanley*, of *Honghton*, the ſecond to Sir *Richard Buckley*, Knt. the third to *Leweys*, the fourth to *Moſton*, the fifth to *Conwey*, the ſixth to *Williams*, the ſeventh to *Pers Motton*, and after to *Simon Thelual*, Eſq. whoſe wife at this time ſhe is; the eighth to *Philips*. Of which daughters there be a wonderful number deſcended. *Edward* married *Jane*, daughter to Sir *John Puleſton*, Knt. and had iſſue by her three daughters; *Jane* married to *William Herbert*, of *S. Julian*; *Catharine* married to *William Herbert*, of *Swanſey*, and another daughter married to Sir *Nicholas Bagnall*, Knt.

15 Sir *Edward Stradling*, Knt. ſucceeded his father, and married with *Elizabeth*, one of the three daughters of Sir *Thomas Arundell*, of *Lanheyran*, in *Cornewall*, Knt. The other two were married to *Speke* and *S. Lowe*, and had iſſue four ſons; *Thomas*, *Robert*, *Edward*, and *John*. *Robert* married *Watkyn Lodher's* daughter, and by her many children; *Edward* married with the daughter and heir of *Robert Baglan*, of *Lantwit*, and hath alſo divers children; and *John* is a prieſt. Alſo the ſaid Sir *Edward* had two daughters; *Jane* married to *Alexander Popham*, of *Somerſetſhire*, of whom is a great number deſcended; and *Catharine* married to Sir *Thomas Palmer*, of *Suſſex*, who hath a ſon named *William*.

16 Sir *Thomas Stradling*, Knt. his ſon, ſucceeded him, and married *Catharine*, the eldeſt daughter to Sir *Thomas Gamage*, of *Coyty*, Knt. and to dame *Margaret* his wife, daughter to Sir *John S. John*, of *Bledſo*, Knt. by whom he hath living yet two ſons, *Edward* and *Dauid*; and five daughters, *Elizabeth*, *Damaſyn*, *Jane*, *Ioice*, and *Wenllian*.

17 Sir

17 Sir *Edward Stradling*, Knt. that now is, married *Agnes*, ſecond daughter to Sir *Edward Gage*, of *Suſſex*, Knt. and as yet in the year 1572 hath no iſſue.

Memorandum, that of the heirs male of the aforeſaid twelve knights that came with Sir *Robert Fitzhamon* to the winning of *Glamorgan*, the lordſhip aforeſaid, there is at this day but the *Stradling* alive, that dwelleth in *Wales*, and enjoyeth the portion given in reward to his anceſtors.

There be yet of the younger brothers of the *Turberuiles* and *Flemings*.

Greenefeeld and *Syward* do yet remain, but they dwell in *England*, and have done away their lands in *Wales*.

The Lord *S. John*, of *Bledſo* (although he keepeth his ancient inheritance in *Wales*) yet he dwelleth in *Eugland*.

Thus far the copy of the winning of Glamorgan, *as I received the ſame at the hands of Mrs.* Blanch Parrie, *penned by Sir* Edward Stradling, *Knt.*

D. POWEL.

THE

The KINGS and PRINCES of WALES.

The noble Cadwallader, the last King of the *Britons*.

1. IDWALLO or EDWALL I. was made King of *Wales* after the 2 Years of Ivor's Usurpation enroll'd among the other Kings *Anno* 690, † 720, reign'd 30.

2. RODERIC MALWINNOE succeeded his Father 720. † 755.

3. CONAN TRIUDARTHWY succeeded his Father 755. † 818, or 820.

4. EISYLHT was Queen of *Wales*. — 4. MERVIN Vtich succeeded in right of his Wife 818, † 843.

5. RODERIC II. Mawre surnamed the *Great*, succeeded his Father 843. He partition'd his Kingdom among his 3 Sons, on Condition, that the two youngest Sons, and their Successors, should be subject to the Princes of *North-Wales*, or to the Posterity of the eldest Son.

North Wales.

1. AMARAWDH Prince of *North-Wales* or *Guinedh* 877, † 913.

2. EDWALL II. VOEL Prince of *Guinedh* 913, was made tributary to ALTHESTAN King of *England* †

3. MERICK King of *Gwinedh*. — 4. JAMES or Iago succ- his Brother.

5. CONAN Prince of *Guinedh*.

6. GRIFFITH *ap* Conan Prince of *Guinedh*.

7. OWEN GUINEDH Prince of *North-Wales*.

8. DAVID *ap* Owen Prince of *Guinedh* 1169, † 1194.

JORWETH.

9. LLEWELLEN I. *ap* Jorweth Prince of *Guinedh* 1194, † 1240.

10. DAVID *ap* Llewellin Prince 1240, † 1246. — Gryffith.

11. LLEWELLIN, as below.

South Wales.

1. CADEL Prince of *South Wales* or *Debeubarth* 877.

2. HOWEL Prince of *South-Wales* † 907.

3. HOWEL DHA Sovereign King of *Wales* † 948.

4. MEREDITH OWEN King of *Wales*. 948.

5. MEREDITH † 998. — 6. ÆNEAS or Evenus King 998.

7. THEODORET the Great King of *Debeubarth* † 1077.

8. RHESE *ap* Theodoret Prince of *Debeubarth* † 1093.

9. GRYFFITH *ap* Rhese Prince of *Debeubarth* 1093.

10. RHESE II. *ap* Gryffith.

11. GRYFFITH II. *ap* Rhese the last Prince of the Line of CADEL. In the Time of King Henry I. Arnulph of *Montgomery* won a great part of this *Dyvet* which we now call *Pembrokshire*, and tho' this Gryffith recover'd part of it yet he † soon after.

Cymmerit and Meredith had their Eyes barbarously put out by King HENRY II. and the whole Country was subdued by King EDWARD I.

Powys Land.

MERVIN Prince of *Powys Land*. In his Line this Country long continued, tho' of his Successors there is no good Account. The last that held it was MEREDITH at *Blethyn*, who partition'd it between his two Sons, Madoc who † 1160, and his Brother Gryffith, who was made Lord of *Powys*. EDWARD I. made all subject to him.

Another Scheme, according to the *Welch* History, beginning with

8. EDWALL II. Voel Prince of *Guinedh* or *North-Wales* 913. made Tributary to ATHELSTAN King of *England* † 940.

Erick or *Merick* was set aside being unfit for the Government.

10. JEVAF and IAGO whom King EDGAR ordered to change the Tribute of Money for that of Wolves, whereby those Wild-Beasts were extirpated. He † 982.

9. HOWEL *Dha* (or the *Good*) Prince of *South-Wales* and *Powys* Land † 948.

13. MEREDITH *ap* Owen Prince of *South-Wales* † 992.

N. N. her second Husband. — ANGHERAD.

14. EDWAL III. King of *Wales* 992, † 1003.

11. HOWEL succ. 982, † 984.

12. CADWALLAN succ. 984, † 986.

19. BLETHYN and RHYWALLON Prince from 1061, to 1073.

16. LLEWELLIN I. *ap* Sitsylth descended from AMARAWDH the first P. of *North-Wales* K. 1015, † 1021, her first Husband.

15. AEDEN *ap* Blethored an Usurper from 1003, to 1015.

17. IAGO *ap* Edwal King 1021, † 1037.

20. TRAHAERN *ap* Caradoc Cousin of K. *Blethyn* succeeded 1073, † 1078.

HAROLD II. K. of *England* her 2nd Husband. — Aldgith, or *Agatha* Da. of *Aldgar* E. of *Mercia*.

18. GRYFFITH *ap* Llewellen King 1037, † 1067, her first Husband.

Conan a Prince.

N. N. Wife of Fleance the Son of Bancho Thain of *Lochabyr*, which *Bancho* was the Grandson of GRIMUS King of *Scotland*, and from Fleance is descended the *House* of Stuart that afterwards became Royal.

21. GRYFFITH *ap* Conan King 1078. He did Homage to WILLIAM the *Conqueror* of *England*, and was the last that had the Title of King of *Wales*. He † 1137.

22. OWEN Prince of *North-Wales* at first, and became Sovereign Prince of *All* Wales 1137, † 1169.

Jorweth the eldest Son excluded by his Brother DAVID.

23. DAVID *ap* Owen excluded his Brother 1169, † 1194.

24. LLEWELLEN II. *ap* Jorweth succeeded his Uncle DAVID 1194, † 1242.

There were other Sons.

25. DAVID *ap* Llewellen Prince of *Wales* 1242, † 1246.

Gryffith a younger Son.

11. LLEWELLIN III. the last sovereign Prince of *Wales* of the *British* Race.

THE HISTORY OF WALES.

WHEN the Roman empire, under Valentinian, the younger, began to decline, and became ſenſibly unable to repreſs the perpetual incurſions of the Goths, Huns, Vandals, and other barbarous invaders; it was found neceſſary to abandon the remoteſt Parts of that unweildly body, and to recal the Roman forces that defended them, the better to ſecure the inward, and the provinces moſt expoſed to the depredations of the Barbarians. And in this exigency of the Roman affairs, Britain, as lying far remote from the heart of the empire, was deprived of the Roman garriſons; which, being tranſported into Gaul upon more urgent occaſions, left it naked and expoſed to the inveterate cruelty of the Scots and Picts: for no ſooner had they underſtood of the Romans departure out of Britain; and that the Britains were to expect no further help from the empire; but they deſcend in greater number than formerly, and with greater courage and expectation, being now rid of the fear they entertained of the Roman legions, who always uſed to hinder their progreſs, and to prevent their incurſions into the Roman province. The Britains perceiving their antient and implacable enemies to fall upon them, and finding themſelves far too weak to repel their endleſs devaſta-

tions; with a lamentable narrative of their own Miſeries, and the cruel oppreſſions of their enemies, they ſent over to Gaul, imploring aid of Ætius præfect of that province; who, being moved with the deplorable condition of that province, diſpatched over a legion under the command of Gallio, which unexpectedly ſurpriſing the Picts and Scots, forced them, with great loſs and deſtruction, to retire over the ſeas or friths to their own habitations. Then helping them to build a wall of ſtone croſs the land, for a bulwark againſt any future irruptions; the Romans, at their departure, told them, they could not any more undertake ſuch dangerous expeditions for their defence, and therefore admoniſhed them to take arms, and like Men vindicate their country, their wives, children and liberties from the injuries or their barbarous enemies.

But as ſoon as the Roman legion was tranſported into Gaul, back return the Picts and Scots; and having by a deſperate aſſault paſſed the wall, purſued the Britains with a more dreadful and bloody ſlaughter than formerly. The Britains, perceiving their condition moſt deſperate, once more ſend their miſerable complaints to Ætius in theſe tragical words: "To Ætius thrice conſul the groans of the Britains: the Barbarians drive us to the ſea, and the ſea drives us back to them; and ſo, diſtracted betwixt two deaths, we are either drowned, or periſh by the ſword." But they ſolicit to no purpoſe; the Romans having already bid abſolutely farewel to Britain, and the empire being cruelly oppreſſed by the Goths, and other barbarous nations, was not in a condition poſſible to aſſiſt them. The Britains therefore finding themſelves abſolutely forſaken by the Romans, and conceiving it utterly impracticable to drive away the barbarians by their own ſtrength; ſaw it urgently neceſſary to call in the aid of ſome foreign nation, whoſe labour in repelling their enemies ſhould be gratefully and ſatisfactorily rewarded.

The reaſon that the Britiſh nation was at this time ſo weak and impotent, and ſo manifeſtly unable to withſtand theſe barbarous enemies, who were far inferior

rior as to extent of country, and probably in number of people, may in great measure be attributed to the ease and quietness the Britains enjoyed under the Roman government. For whilst the Roman legions continued in Britain, they ever undertook the security and preservation of it; so that the Britains heretofore were little concerned at the incursions of the Scots and Picts, depending wholly upon the strength and valour of the Romans, insomuch, that within a while, they fell into a fit of luxury and effeminacy, and quickly forgot that martial prowess, and military conduct which their ancestors so famously excelled in. For after their entire subjection to the Roman empire, they had little or no opportunity to experience their valour excepting in some home bred commotions, excited by the aspiring ambition of some male-contented general, which were quickly composed and reduced to nothing. And after the Scots and Picts grew formidable, and durst venture to make incursions into the Roman province, the Britains were the least concerned in opposing them, leaving that to the care and vigilancy of the Roman garrisons. And this easiness and supinity of the Britains, may not be untruly attributed to the policy of the Roman constitution: for when the Britains were brought subject to the empire, the first thing the Romans effected towards the confirmation of their obedience, was to take the sword out of their hands. They were sensible how bold and valorous the Britains naturally were, how unlike to submit their necks to a foreign yoke, and therefore they found it impracticable to obtain a quiet possession of this province, as long as the Britains had power and opportunity to oppose them. This course they found very effectual, and when they had once lulled them asleep, they were not over solicitous to rouse and awaken them.

The Britains also might possibly be too much taken with this sedentary and unactive life; and as long as they lived secure under the protection of the Roman empire, they little feared their country would become a prey to any barbarous nation. No one would have

imagined that that glorious empire would be ſo ſoon cruſhed to pieces, which could not otherwiſe be effected, than by the inſupportable preſſure of its own weight. The apprehenſion of the greatneſs and ſtrength of the Romans, made the Britains probably leſs ſolicitous of enabling themſelves to defend their country, not thinking they would ever forſake and relinquiſh the province of Britain. But to their ſorrow they experienced the contrary, the affairs of the empire elſewhere requiring the help of the Britiſh legions, ſo that they were left expoſed to the cruelties of the northern invaders, having not as yet recovered any power or conduct to oppoſe them. For had not the Scots and Picts come on ſo forcibly at firſt, but had given time to the Britains to ſhake off that lethargy they had for many years been buried in, and to renew their ancient diſcipline and vigour, there had been no need of calling in the Saxons, ſeeing they would in all probability been able to maintain their ground againſt any oppoſition, and likely had been in poſſeſſion of their whole country to this time. But next to the decree of heaven, the ruin of the Britiſh nation muſt be attributed to its too much luxury and effeminacy, and to the univerſal lapſe of the nobility and people, into an averſion of all military action and martial diſcipline. For though a continued peace be in itſelf deſirable, yet oftentimes nothing tends more to the future ruin and downfal of a nation. For peace begets in men generally a habit of looſeneſs and debauchery, is the occaſion of many notorious extravagancies and vicious practiſes, which weakens their hands, and cools their courage and greatneſs of mind, ſo that in caſe of any open danger, they are uncapable to defend their country, and unfit to oppoſe the common enemy. Scarce any kingdom or nation was ſubverted, but the ruin of it was uſhered in by theſe means; witneſs the Aſſyrian under Sardnapalus, the Perſian under Darius, and the Egyptian under Cleopatra; ſo that it was moſt prudently urged by a Roman ſenator, that Carthage might not be demoliſhed; leſt that for want of an enemy abroad, the valour of the Romans might degenerate, and their

conduct be forgotten. Had the Britains had the fortune to be continually in action, and not exchanged their courage and diſcipline for eaſe and lazineſs, they had no reaſon to dread the incurſions of the Scots and Picts, nor any need of the Aid and Aſſiſtance of a foreign Nation; but the condition of their affairs then required it, and help muſt be had, or elſe their country muſt unavoidable become a prey to thoſe northern invaders.

To prevent therefore and repel their violence, King Vortigern held a council of his great men and nobles, where it was concluded to be moſt advantageous to the Britains, to invite the Saxons out of Germany to their aid, who in all probability would gladly embrace the opportunity, by reaſon that their own country was grown too ſcanty for their ſuperfluous numbers. This meſſage of the Britains, however originally delivered, is by an antient Saxon Writer repeated in this manner: "Moſt noble Saxons, the miſerable Britains, ſhattered and quite worn out by the frequent incurſions of their enemies, upon the news of your many ſignal victories, have ſent us to you, humbly requeſting that you would aſſiſt them at this juncture. A land large and ſpacious, abounding with all manner of neceſſaries, they give up entirely to your diſpoſal. Hitherto we have lived happily under the government and protection of the Romans: Next to the Romans we know none of greater valour than yourſelves, and therefore in your arms do now ſeek refuge. Let but that courage and thoſe arms make us conquerors, and we ſhall refuſe no ſervice you ſhall pleaſe to impoſe." To this meſſage the Saxons returned this ſhort anſwer: "Aſſure yourſelves, the Saxons will be true friends to the Britains, and as ſuch, ſhall be always ready both to relieve their neceſſities, and to advance their intereſt."

The Saxons being thus happily courted to what themſelves had a thouſand times wiſhed for, arrived ſoon after in Britain, in three gallies, called in their own language Kiules, under the conduct of two brethren Hengiſt and Horſa. Being honourably received by the king, and affectionately treated by the people,

their faith was given of both ſides; the Saxons ſtipulating to defend the Britains country, and the Britains to give the Saxons a ſatisfactory reward for all the pains and dangers they ſhould undergo upon their account. At firſt the Saxons ſhewed themſelves very diligent in their employment, and ſucceſsfully repelled the Scots and Picts; who being probably ignorant of the landing of the Saxons, and fearing no oppoſition, boldly advanced to the heart of the country. But when the Saxons became better acquainted with the iſland, and happily diſcovered the weakneſs and inability of the Britains; under pretence that their pay was not anſwerable to their ſervice and deſerts, they quarrelled with the Britains, and inſtead of ſupporting them according to oath, entered into a league with their enemies the Scots. Moreover, Hengiſt perceiving with whom he had to do, ſent over to acquaint his countrymen with the beauty and fertility of the iſland, the infirmity and effeminacy of the inhabitants; inviting them to be ſharers of his future ſucceſs and expectations. To his invitation they readily comply, and ſailing over in great numbers, they thought to take poſſeſſion of that country, which fortune promiſed ſhould be their own: but they muſt fight for it firſt; the Britains being reſolved to the laſt to defend themſelves and their country againſt theſe treacherous practices of the Saxons; and if poſſible, to drive them to their primitive habitations. For when the Britains became ſenſible of the undermining aim of the Saxons, how they ſecretly endeavoured the total extirpation of the Britiſh nation, they preſently betook themſelves to their ſwords, and in a ſhort time became ſignally famous for their valour and conduct. This the Saxons afterwards grievouſly felt, though the total recovery of Britain proved impracticable for want of power; the Saxons having by maſſacres and other treacherous means, moſt unmercifully leſſened the force and number of the Britains. King Vortigern loved his eaſe too well to obſerve their practices; and beſides, became ſo fooliſhly enamoured with the daughter of Hengiſt, which purpoſely,

poſely was laid to intrap him, that the Saxon upon the ſtrength of their marriage began to carve for himſelf, and during Vortigern's reign, laid ſo firm a foundation for the Saxon conqueſt, that the ſucceeding Britiſh kings, though famouſly valiant, could never undermine it. This Scottiſhneſs of his father, young Vortimer could not at length endure; to ſee himſelf and his country ſo openly and ſhamefully impoſed upon by ſtrangers; and therefore he reſolved to take the Britiſh government upon himſelf, and to endeavour the univerſal expulſion of the Saxons. With him the Britiſh nobility willingly join, and after ſeveral famous victories over the Saxons, he was unhappily poiſoned by a Saxon lady. After him the Britains bravely defended themſelves againſt the prevailing greatneſs of the Saxons, under theſe valiant princes, Aurelius Ambroſius, Uter Pendragon, Arthur, Conſtantine II. Aurelius Conanus, Vortiper, and Maelgon. To him ſucceeded Careticus; in whoſe time the Saxons aſpiring to a total conqueſt of Britain, invited over one Gurmundus, a Norwegian pirate, who had lately ſignalized himſelf in Ireland, and obtained a conqueſt over that kingdom. Him they employ to march againſt Careticus, who being overcome and vanquiſhed by him, the Britains were forced, ſome to retire beyond the rivers Severn and Dee, ſome to Cornwal, and the reſt to Little Britain in France. The Britiſh affairs were now brought very low, and their government reduced within a very narrow compaſs; ſo that the title of the Kings of Britain, can be but ſuperficially attributed to the ſucceeding princes, Cadwan, Cadwallan, and Cadwalader.

CADWALADER.

CADWALADER, ſurnamed Bhendiged, or the Bleſſed, was the laſt of Britiſh race, that enjoyed the title of King of Britain; after him, the Welch, who were the moſt numerous remains of the Britains, diſdaining to own any ſubjection to the oppreſſing Saxons, ſet up a new government among themſelves, and altered the ſtile of Britiſh kings to that of princes of Wales. But whilſt Cadwalader ruled in Britain, a very ſevere famine, attended with a raging peſtilence, which aſſuredly ſprung from the continued war, which was ſo eagerly carried on betwixt the Britains and Saxons, happened in the iſland, which occaſioned a moſt lamentable mortality among his ſubjects; inſomuch that he was compelled, together with a great number of his nobility and others, to retire for refuge to his couſin Alan, King of Lhydaw, or Little Britain in France. There he was ſure to meet with all civility ſuitable to his quality and condition, as well, becauſe of his own near relation and conſanguinity to Alan, as upon the account that their ſubjects were originally one and the ſame people: for the Britains of France, about the year of Chriſt 384, went over out of this iſland under the command of Conan, Lord of Meriadoc, to the aid of Maximus the tyrant, againſt the emperor Gratianus. For this ſervice Maximus granted to Conan and his followers the country of Armorica, where the Britains having driven out the former inhabitants, ſeated themſelves, and erected a kingdom, which laſted for many years under ſeveral kings, whoſe names and ſucceſſion are as follows:

The LIST of the ARMORICAN KINGS,

1. Conan Meriadoc.
2. Gradlonus.
3. Salomon I.
4. Auldranus.
5. Budicus I.
6. Howelus Magnus.
7. Howelus II.
8. Alanus I.
9. Howelus III.
10. Gilquellus.
11. Salomon II.
12. Alanus II,
13. Conobertus.
14. Budicus II.
15. Theordoricus.
16. Ruhalhonus.
17. Daniel Dremroſt, i. e. rubicunda facie.
18. Aregſtanus.
19. Maconus.
20. Neomenius.
21. Haruſpogius.
22. Salomon III.

Alan II. then reigned in Little Britain, when Cadwalader was forced to forſake his own dominions, and to retire beyond the ſeas. He was deſcended from Rune the ſon of Mailgon Gwyneth, King of Great Britain, by a daughter married to Howel the ſecond, King of Little Britain. This kingdom remained firm, till Salomon III. who was treacherouſly ſlain by his own ſubjects; upon which unlucky accident, the kingdom was converted to an earldom, whereof one Alan was the firſt, a valiant and warlike prince, who ſtoutly reſiſted the Normans, and frequently vanquiſhed and overcame them.

But after that Cadwalader had continued ſome time with Alan, the plague being abated in Britain he purpoſed to return, and if poſſible, to recover that part of his kingdom which the Saxons were now in poſſeſſion of. He received frequent intelligence of their number and increaſe, how they fairly bid for the conqueſt of that country, which had been governed by Britiſh kings for the ſpace of 1827 years. This troubled him exceedingly, and though he had little hopes of prevailing by the ſtrength and number of his forces, yet he made the beſt preparation that the opportunity would permit, and diſpatched his fleet for the tranſportation of his army, which

conſiſted partly of his own ſubjects, and partly of ſuch ſuccours as he received from Alan. Whilſt he vigorouſly proſecuted this deſign, and was ready to ſtrike ſail for Britain; his voyage was prevented by a meſſage from heaven; which counſeled him to lay aſide the thoughts of recovering his kingdom, becauſe it was already decreed above, that the Britains ſhould no longer enjoy the government of Britain, till the propheſy of Merlyn Ambroſe was fulfilled. And inſtead of a voyage to Britain, he is ordered to take his journey to Rome, where he ſhould receive holy orders at the hands of Pope Sergius, and inſtead of recovering the Britiſh crown, have his own crown ſhaved off, and be initiated into the order of the monks. Whether this viſion was ſignified to him in a dream, or by the impoſitious illuſions of ſome wicked ſpirit; or whether it may be a fantaſtical conceit of his own, being a man of a mild and eaſy temper, wearied with troubles and miſeries, is very dubious: only this is certain, that he never returned again to Britain, after he had gone over to Alan. But Cadwaladar had no ſooner received this Viſion, but immediately he relates the whole to his friend Alan, who preſently conſults all his prophetical books, chiefly the famous works of the two Merlins, Ambroſe and Silveſter: the firſt is ſaid to be begotten on a ſpirit, and born in the town of Carmarthen, whence he received the name of Merlin, and to flouriſh in the reign of King Vortigern. The latter called Caledonius, from the foreſt Caledon in Scotland, and Silveſter or Merlyn Wylht, by reaſon he fell mad, and lived deſolately after that he had ſeen a monſtrous ſhape in the air, propheſied in the time of King Arthur, and far more full and intelligible than the former. Both theſe were in great reverence and reputation among the Britains, and their works very religiouſly preſerved, and upon any conſiderable occaſion moſt venerably conſulted. They were of opinion, that nothing could eſcape their knowledge; and that no accident of moment or revolution could happen, which they did not foretel, and was to be diſco-

diſcovered in their writings. In the conſultation therefore of their propheſies, and the words which an eagle is ſaid to have ſpoken at the building of Caer Septon, now Shaftſbury; namely, that the Britains muſt loſe the government of Britain till the bones of King Cadwalader were brought back from Rome. Alan found out that the time was now come, when theſe propheſies were to be accompliſhed, and the Britains forced to quit their native inheritance to ſtrangers and invaders. Upon this he adviſed Cadwalader to obey the commands, and follow the counſel of the viſion, and to haſten his journey for Rome. This he was willing to ſubmit to, being deſirous to ſpend the remainder of his days in peace and quietneſs, which before he had no opportunity to enjoy. To Rome therefore he haſtens, where he was kindly received by Pope Sergius: and after eight years ſpent there in piety and devotion, he died in the year 688, and with him the kingdom and total government of the Britains over this iſland.

King Cadwalader is ſaid to have been a conſiderable benefactor to the abby of Clynnoc Vawr in Arvon, upon which he beſtowed the Lordſhip of Grayanoc. This place was primarily founded by S. Beuno, to whom it is dedicated, who was the ſon of Hywgi ap Gwynlliw ap Glywis ap Tegid ap Cadell, a prince or Lord of Glewiſig, brothers ſon to S. Cadoc ap Gwynlliw, ſometime biſhop of Beneventum in Italy. He was by the mothers ſide couſin German to Laudatus the firſt abbot of Enlli, or the iſland of Bardſey; and to Kentigern biſhop of Glaſgow in Scotland, and of Lhanelwey, or S. Aſaph in Wales; which laſt was ſon to Owen Regent of Scotland, and grandſon to Urien King of Cumbria. The building of a monaſtery at Glynnoc happened upon this occaſion: Beuno having raiſed to life, as the tradition goes, S. Wenifryd, who was beheaded by one Caradoc, a lord in North Wales, upon the account that ſhe would not yield to his unchaſte deſires, became in very great eſteem with King Cadvan, who beſtowed upon him certain lands whereon to build a monaſtery. Cadwallon

wallon alſo, Cadran's ſon, gave him the lands of Gwareddoc, where beginning to build a church, a certain woman with a child in her arms prevented his further progreſs, aſſuring him, that thoſe lands were the proper inheritance of that child. Beuno was ſo exceeding troubled at this, and without any more conſideration on the matter, taking the woman along with him, he went in all haſte to Caer Sevant (called by the Romans Segontium, now Carnarvon) where King Cadwallon then kept his Court; when he was come before the king, he told him with a great deal of zeal and concern, that he had not done well to devote to God's ſervice what was another man's inheritance, and therefore demanded back of him the golden ſcepter he had given him in lieu and conſideration of the ſaid land, which the king refuſing to do, was preſently excommunicated by Beuno, who thereupon departed and went away. But a certain perſon called Gwyddeiant, the king's couſin-german, hearing what had happened, immediately purſued after Beuno; whom when he had overtaken, he beſtowed upon him (for the good of his own ſoul and the kings) the townſhip of Clynncovawr, being his undoubted inheritance, where Beuno built a church, about the year 616, about which time King Cadvan died, leaving his ſon Cadwallon to ſucceed him. And not long before this time, Eneon Bhrenin, or Anianus King of the Scots, a conſiderable prince in the north of Britain, leaving all his royalty in thoſe parts, came to Lhyn in Gwyneth, where he built a church, which is ſtill called from him, Lhan Eingan Bhrenin; where he is ſaid to have ſpent the remainder of his days in the fear and ſervice of God. He was ſon to Oven Danwyn, the ſon of Eneon Yrth, ſon to Cunedha Wledig king of Cambria, and a great prince in the north, and couſin-german to the great Maelgwyn Gwyneth King of Britain, whoſe father was Caſwallon-law-hir, the brother of Owen Danwyn; and his mother Medif the daughter of Voylda ap Talu Traws of Nanconwey. This Maclywn died about the year 586.

Ivor

IVOR and EDWAL YWRCH.

WHEN Cadwaladar was departed for Rome, Alan began to reflect upon the ſtate and condition of Great Britain; he imagined with himſelf that the recovery of it was not impracticable, but that a conſiderable army might regain what the Saxons now quietly poſſeſſed. Therefore he was reſolved to try the utmoſt, and to ſend over all the forces he was able to draw together; not doubting the conqueſt of ſome part of Britain, in caſe the whole ſhould prove irrecoverable. He was the more encouraged to this expedition, by reaſon that the advantage was like to be his own, and no one could challenge the government of Britain, in caſe fortune ſhould deliver it to his hands. Cadwalader was gone to Rome, and in all probability never to return; his ſon Edwal Ywrch, or the Roe, was young and under the tuition of Alan; ſo that the event of this expedition muſt of neceſſity fall to himſelf, or by his conceſſion to his ſon Ivor, who was to be chief in the undertaking. Having raiſed a conſiderable army, conſiſting chiefly of his own ſubjects, with what remained of the Britains that came over with King Cadwaladar, he diſpatched it for Britain, under the command of his ſon Ivor, and his nephew Ynyr: they ſafely landed in the weſtern parts of Britain, which put the Saxons into ſo great a fright, that immediately they drew up all their power to oppoſe them, and to hinder their progreſs into the country. The Britains, though ſomewhat fatigued with their voyage, however gave them battle, and after a very great ſlaughter of the Saxons, poſſeſſed themſelves of the countries of Cornwal, Devon, and Somerſetſhires. This proved a fortunate beginning for the Britains, and gave them great hopes of farther ſucceſs in the recovery of their country;

country; but that could not be expected without great oppoſition, and ſeveral hot engagements with the Saxons. This they were immediately made ſenſible of; for they had ſcarce time to breath, and to recover their ſpirits after the laſt battle, but Kentwinus, King of the Weſt-Saxons marched againſt them with a powerful army, conſiſting of Saxons and Angles. The Britains reſolved to fight them; but whilſt both armies were in view of each other, they thought it more adviſeable to ceaſe from any hoſtility, and to enter into articles of compoſition. Ivor ſeemed already ſatisfied with his conqueſt, and willingly agreed to marry Ethelberga, Kentwyn's couſin, and peaceably to enjoy for his life ſo much as he was already in poſſeſſion of. This he faithfully obſerved during the reign of Kentwyn, and his nephew Cadwal; who, after two years, reſigned the kingdom of the Weſt-Saxons to his couſin Ivor. And now Ivor was become unexpectedly powerful, being King as well of the Saxons, as Britains that inhabited the Weſtern parts of the iſland. He was now able to undertake ſomewhat conſiderable, and therefore began to fall foul upon his neighbours the kings of Kent, the Weſt-Saxons, and Mercia, whom he vanquiſhed in ſeveral battles. But being at length tired with the weight of government, he went to Rome, after the example of Cadwaladar, and reſigned the rule of the Saxons to his couſin Adelred, leaving the Britains to the care of Roderick Molwynoc, the ſon of Edwal Ywrch.

This Ivor founded the abby of Glaſtenbury, called in the Britiſh tongue Ynys Avalon; where there had been a chriſtian church for ſeveral years before, and the firſt that was ever erected in Britain. For Joſeph of Arimathea being ſent by Philip the apoſtle in the days of Arviragus, An. Chr. 53. to preach the goſpel in Britain, ſeated himſelf here, and built a church for the Britiſh chriſtians. This church afterwards Ivor converted into an abby, which he endowed with very large poſſeſſions; being famous for the burying-place of Joſeph of Arimathea, and King Arthur. He beſtowed alſo ſome lands upon the church of Wincheſter.

But

But there happened ſeveral caſualties in his time. Brythe, a Subject to Egfride King of Northumberland, paſſed over to Ireland, and waſted and deſtroyed a great part of that Kingdom. In the fourth year of his reign there happened a remarkable earthquake in the Iſle of Man, which much diſturbed and annoyed the Inhabitants; and the year following it rained blood both in Britain and Ireland. This occaſioned the butter and milk to reſemble the colour of blood; and two years after the Moon alſo appeared all bloody. Theſe accidents of nature might preſage ſome tumults and diſturbances in the kingdom; which were very great in his time. For he was almoſt in perpetual hoſtility with the Kings of Kent, Weſt-Sex, and Mercia; which occaſioned great bloodſhed and ſlaughter in Britain. His Journey to Rome put an end to all theſe commotions, from whence he never did return, but ended his days there in the practice of piety and religion.

RODERICK MOLWYNOC.

THE Government of the Britains Ivor reſigned to Roderick Molwinoc the ſon of Edwal Ywrch, who began his reign An. 720. But Adelred, King of the A. D. 720. Weſt-Saxons, was diſpleaſed that Ivor had not beſtowed upon him his whole kingdom; and upon that account he is reſolved to trouble and plague Roderick and his Britons. He raiſed immediately a powerful army, and with all his forces marched to Devonſhire. which he deſtroyed with fire and ſword. From thence he proceeds to Cornwal, intending to make that country, ſenſible of the ſame miſery; but he came far ſhort of his expectation; for upon his entrance into the county, the Britains oppoſed him, and gave him battel, where he was vanquiſhed, and forced to retire with all ſpeed to his own dominions. This victory the Britains called

led Gwaeth Heilyn, from the place where this bat-
A. D. 721. tle was fought. The year following, the Britains again obtained two notable victories over the Saxons, the one at a place called Garth Maclawch in North-Wales, the other at Pencoſt in South-Wales. But the joy and ſatisfaction which the Britains entertained of theſe ſucceſſes, was ſomewhat abated by the death of Belin the ſon of Elphin, a Man of noble birth, and great worth among them.

About the ſame time Celredus King of Mercia died; and was ſucceeded by Ethelbaldus, who being very deſirous to annex that fertile and pleaſant country lying between the rivers Severn and Wye to his kingdom of Mercia, entred Wales with a puiſſant army. He deſtroyed and ravaged the country before him, to Carno, a mountain lying not far from Abergavenny, where he was met with by the Britains between whom a bloody and ſore battle was fought in the year 728. but the victory proved very dubitable.

A. D. 733. Not long after died venerable Bede, who was educated and brought up in the Abby of Wyrnetham or Iarewe; a man of great learning and extenſive knowledge; who wrote ſeveral books, one of which entitled, the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Engliſh Nation; he dedicated to Cleolwolfe King of Northumberland. The ſame time Adelred King of the Weſt-Saxons, and Ethelbald King of Mercia, united their forces, and jointly marched to fight againſt the Britains. The Welch were now put to very hard ſtreights, and forced to oppoſe the numerous armies of two powerful kings. However, fight they muſt, or ſuffer their country to be miſerably over-run by their inveterate enemies. Both armies being engaged, a very diſmal battle enſued thereupon, and a very great ſlaughter happened on both ſides, but the Saxons prevailing by the number of their forces, obtained a very bloody victory over the powerleſs Britains. But Adelred, who was ſhortly followed by Edwyn King of the Picts, did not long ſurvive this battle; and Cudred took upon him the government of the Weſt-Saxons.

The

The Welch found themſelves unable to cope with the Saxons, and too weak to repreſs their endleſs incurſions; therefore they apply themſelves to Cudred and joined in league with him, who upon ſome occaſion or other, was actually fallen out with Ethelbald King of Mercia. But Ethelbald was ſo proud with the ſucceſs of the laſt engagement, that notwithſtanding the league with Cudred, he muſt needs again fall upon the Welch. He advanced as far as Hereford, where the Britains, by the help of Cudred, gave him a ſignal overthrow, and cauſed him to repent of his raſh and precipitous expedition. But ſhortly after, Cudred and Ethelbald were unluckily reconciled, and made friends together, and Cudred relinquiſhing the Welch, joined his forces to Ethelbald's. Hereupon enſued another battle, in which the Welch being greatly overpowered, were vanquiſhed by the Saxons; after which victory, Cudred ſhortly died. To him ſucceeded Sigebert, a man of a looſe and vicious inclination; who for his ill behaviour in the management of his kingdom, was in a ſhort time expelled and deprived by his nobility, and at laſt miſerably ſlain by a raſcally ſwineherd. After him Kenulph was choſen king of the Weſt-Saxons, Ann. 750. in whoſe time died Theodore the ſon of Belin, a man of great eſteem and reputation among the Britains. And about the ſame time, a remarkable battle was fought between the Britains and the Picts, at a place called Magedawc; in which the Picts were put to a total rout, and Dalargan their king caſually ſlain. But the Britains did not ſucceed ſo well againſt the Saxons; for Roderic Molwynoc was at length forced to forſake the weſtern countries of Britain, and to claim his own inheritance in North Wales. The ſons of Bletius or Bledericus Prince of Cornwal and Devonſhire, who was one of them that vanquiſhed Adelred and Ethelbert at Bangor on the river Dee, had enjoyed the government of North Wales ever ſince Cadfan was choſe King of Britain. Roderic therefore demanded the government of this country as his right, which he was now willing to accept of, ſeeing he was forced to quit what he had hitherto poſſeſſed.

A. D. 746

A. D. 743.

A. D. 750.

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A. D. 733. Not long after died venerable Bede, who was educated and brought up in the Abby of Wyrnetham or Iarewe; a man of great learning and extenſive knowledge; who wrote ſeveral books, one of which entitled, the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Engliſh Nation; he dedicated to Cleolwolfe King of Northumberland. The ſame time Adelred King of the Weſt-Saxons, and Ethelbald King of Mercia, united their forces, and jointly marched to fight againſt the Britains. The Welch were now put to very hard ſtreights, and forced to oppoſe the numerous armies of two powerful kings. However, fight they muſt, or ſuffer their country to be miſerably over-run by their inveterate enemies. Both armies being engaged, a very diſmal battle enſued thereupon, and a very great ſlaughter happened on both ſides, but the Saxons prevailing by the number of their forces, obtained a very bloody victory over the powerleſs Britains. But Adelred, who was ſhortly followed by Edwyn King of the Picts, did not long ſurvive this battle; and Cudred took upon him the government of the Weſt-Saxons.

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The Welch found themſelves unable to cope with the Saxons, and too weak to repreſs their endleſs incurſions; therefore they apply themſelves to Cudred and joined in league with him, who upon ſome occaſion or other, was actually fallen out with Ethelbald King of Mercia. But Ethelbald was ſo proud with the ſucceſs of the laſt engagement, that notwithſtanding the league with Cudred, he muſt needs again fall upon the Welch. He advanced as far as Hereford, where the Britains, by the help of Cudred, gave him a ſignal overthrow, and cauſed him to repent of his raſh and precipitous expedition. But ſhortly after, Cudred and Ethelbald were unluckily reconciled, and made friends together, and Cudred relinquiſhing the Welch, joined his forces to Ethelbald's. Hereupon enſued another battle, in which the Welch being greatly overpowered, were vanquiſhed by the Saxons; after which victory, Cudred ſhortly died. To him ſucceeded Sigebert, a man of a looſe and vicious inclination; who for his ill behaviour in the management of his kingdom, was in a ſhort time expelled and deprived by his nobility, and at laſt miſerably ſlain by a raſcally ſwineherd. After him Kenulph was choſen king of the Weſt-Saxons, Ann. 750. in whoſe time died Theodore the ſon of Belin, a man of great eſteem and reputation among the Britains. And about the ſame time, a remarkable battle was fought between the Britains and the Picts, at a place called Magedawc; in which the Picts were put to a total rout, and Dalargan their king caſually ſlain. But the Britains did not ſucceed ſo well againſt the Saxons; for Roderic Molwynoc was at length forced to forſake the weſtern countries of Britain, and to claim his own inheritance in North Wales. The ſons of Bletius or Bledericus Prince of Cornwal and Devonſhire, who was one of them that vanquiſhed Adelred and Ethelbert at Bangor on the river Dee, had enjoyed the government of North Wales ever ſince Cadfan was choſe King of Britain. Roderic therefore demanded the government of this country as his right, which he was now willing to accept of, ſeeing he was forced to quit what he had hitherto poſſeſſed.

A. D. 746

A. D. 743.

A. D. 750.

But he did long enjoy it, but died in a ſhort time, leaving behind him two ſons Conan Tindaythwy and Howel; after that he had in all reigned over the Britains thirty years.

CONAN TINDAYTHWY.

A. D. 755. RODERIC Molwynoc being dead, his ſon Conan Tindaythwy took upon him the government and principality of Wales, in the year 755. He was ſcarce ſettled in his throne, but the Saxons began to make in-roads into his country, to ſpoil and deſtroy what they conveniently could meet with. They were animated hereto by the bad ſucceſs of Roderic; and having forced the Britains out of Cornwal and Devonſhire, they thought it practicable to drive them out of Wales too, and ſo to reduce the poſſeſſion of the whole Iſland to themſelves. This was their aim, and this they endeavoured to put in execution; but they were met with at Hereford, where a ſevere battle was fought between them and the Welch, in which Dyfwal the ſon of Theodore a ſtout and valiant ſoldier, was ſlain. And ſhortly afterwards died Athelbert King of Northumberland, and was ſucceeded by Oſwald.

About the ſame time happened a religious quarrel between the Britains and Saxons, concerning the obſervation of the feaſt of Eaſter, which Elbodius a learned and a pious Man, endeavoured to rectify in Wales, and to reduce it to the Roman calculation, which the Saxons always obſerved. The Britains did differ from the church of Rome in the celebration of this feaſt; and the difference was this. The church of Rome according to the order of the council of Nice, always obſerved Eaſter-day the next Sunday after the 14th day of the Moon; ſo that it never happened upon the 14th day itſelf, nor paſſed the 21ſt. The

Britains

Britains on the other hand, celebrated their Eaſter upon the 14th and ſo forward to the 20th, which occaſioned this difference, that the Sunday obſerved as Eaſter-day by the Britains, was but Palm-Sunday with the Saxons. Upon this account the Saxons did moſt uncharitably traduce the Britains, and would ſcarcely allow them the name and title of Chriſtians. Hereupon, about the year 660, a great conteſt happened, managed on the one part by Colman and Hylda, who defended the rites and celebration of the Britains; and Gilbert and Wilfride on the part of the Saxons. Hylda was the niece of Edwine king of Northumberland, educated by Pauline and Aedan. She publickly oppoſed Wilfride and other ſuperſtitious monks, as to ſuch trifles and bigotry in religion, alledging out of Polycrates, the fact of Irenæus, who withſtood Victor biſhop of Rome upon the ſame account; and the cuſtom of the churches of Aſia obſerved by St. John the Evangeliſt, Philip the Apoſtle, Polycarpus and Melito; and likewiſe obſerved in Britain by Joſeph of Arimathea, who firſt preached the goſpel here.

Offa was made King of Mercia, and Brichtrich of the Weſt-Saxons; about which time died Fermael the ſon of Edwal and Cemoyd King of the Picts. The Saxons did daily encroach upon the lands and territories of the Welch beyond the river Severn, but more eſpecially towards the ſouth part of the country. Theſe encroachments the Welch could not endure, and therefore were reſolved to recover their own, and to drive the Saxons out of their country. The Britains of South-Wales, as receiving the greateſt injury and diſadvantage from the Saxons, preſently took up arms and entered into the country of Mercia; which they ravaged and deſtroyed with fire and ſword. And ſhortly after, all the Welch joined their forces together, fell upon the Saxons, and forced them to retire beyond the Severn, and then returned home, with a very conſiderable ſpoil of Engliſh cattle. The Welch finding the advantage of this laſt incurſion, and how that by theſe means they galled and

A. D. 763.

A. D. 776.

vexed the Saxons, frequently practiſed the ſame; and entering their country by ſtealth, they killed and deſtroyed all before them; and driving their cattle beyond the river, ravaged and laid waſte the whole country. Offa King of Mercia not being able to endure theſe daily incurſions and depredations of the Welch, entered into a league with the reſt of the Saxon Kings, to bend their whole force againſt the Welch; who having raiſed a very ſtrong and numerous army, paſſed the Severn into Wales. The Welch being far too weak to oppoſe and encounter ſo great an army, quitted the even and plain country, lying upon the banks of Severn and Wye, and retired to the mountains and rocks, where they knew they could be moſt ſafe from the inveterate and revengeful arms of the Saxons. But as ſoon as the Saxons decamped, being not able to effect any thing againſt them in theſe ſtrong and natural fortifications, the Welch ſtill made inroads into their territories, and ſeldom returned without ſome conſiderable booty and advantage. The Saxons were heartily nettled at theſe bo-peeping ravagers, and would compliment them ſtill to their holes, but durſt not purſue them further, for fear they ſhould be entrapped by ſuch as defended the ſtreights and paſſages into the rocks. King Offa perceiving that he could effect nothing by theſe meaſures, annexed the country about Severn and Wye to his kingdom of Mercia, and planted the ſame with Saxons. And for a farther ſecurity againſt the endleſs invaſions of the Welch, he made a deep ditch, extending from one ſea to the other, called Clawdh Offa, or Offa's dike; upon which account, the royal ſeat of the Princes of Powys was tranſlated from Pengwern, now Shrewsbury, to Mathraval in Montgomeryſhire.

A. D. 795. While theſe things are tranſacted in the weſt, the Danes began to grow powerful at ſea, and durſt venture to land in the north of England; but without doing any great hurt, being forced to betake themſelves to their ſhips again. Within ſix years after, they landed again in greater numbers, and proved much more

more terrible; they ravaged and deſtroyed a great part of Linſey and Northumberland, over-run the beſt part of Ireland, and miſerably waſted Rechreyn. At the ſame time a conſiderable battle was fought at Ruthland between the Saxons and the Welch, wherein Caradoc King of North Wales was killed. The government of Wales was as yet green, and not firmly rooted, by reaſon of the perpetual quarrels and diſturbances between the Welch and the Saxons; ſo that the chief perſon or lord of any country aſſumed to himſelf the title of king. Caradoc was a perſon of great eſteem and reputation in North Wales, and one that did very much contribute towards the ſecurity of the country, againſt the incurſions of the Saxons. He was ſon to Gwyn, the ſon of Colhoyn, the ſon of Ednowen, ſon to Blethyn, the ſon of Blecius or Bledericus Prince of Cornwall and Devonſhire. Offa King of Mercia did not long ſurvive him, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Egfert, who in a ſhort time left his kingdom alſo to Kenulphus, a year after that Egbertus was created King of the Weſt Saxons. About the ſame time died Arthen ſon to Sitſylht, the ſon of Clydawc King of Cardigan; and ſometime after, Run King of Dyfed, and Cadelh King of Powys: who were followed by Elbodius Archbiſhop of North Wales, before whoſe death happened a very ſevere eclipſe of the ſun. The year following, the moon was likewiſe eclipſed upon Chriſtmas-day. Theſe fatalities and eclipſes did portend no ſucceſs to the Welch affairs; the laying of St. Davids in aſhes by the Weſt Saxons being followed by a general and a very grievious murrain of cattle, which was like to impoveriſh the whole country. The following year Owen the ſon of Meredith, the ſon of Terudos, dyed; and the Caſtle of Deganwy was ruined and deſtroyed by thunder. A. D. 808.

But theſe ſeveral loſſes which the Welch ſuſtained could not reconcile Prince Conan and his brother Howel; but they muſt needs quarrel and contend with one another, when they had the greateſt occaſion to embrace and unite their endeavours againſt the com-

mon enemy. Howel claimed the iſle of Angleſey, as part of his father's inheritance, which Conan would by no means hearken to, nor conſent that his brother ſhould take poſſeſſion of it. It was the cuſtom of Wales, that a father's eſtate ſhould be equally diſtributed between all his ſons; and Howel by virtue of this cuſtom, commonly called Gavelkind from the word Gafel to hold; claimed that iſland, as his father's eſtate. The cuſtom of Gavelkind has been the occaſion of the ruin and diminution of the eſtates of all the ancient Nobility in Wales; which being endleſly divided between the ſeveral ſons of the ſame family, where at length reduced to nothing. From hence alſo proceeded ſeveral unnatural wars and diſturbances between brothers; who being either not ſatisfied with their portions, or diſpleaſed with the country they were to poſſeſs, diſputed their right by dint of the ſword. This proved very true in this preſent inſtance; for Howel would not ſuffer himſelf to be cheated out of his paternal inheritance, and therefore he would endeavour to recover it by force of arms. Both armies being engaged, the victory fell to Howel, who immediately thereupon poſſeſſed himſelf of the iſland, and valiantly maintained it againſt the power and ſtrength of his brother Conan,

The Welch being thus at variance and enmity among themſelves, and ſtriving how to deſtroy one another; had yet another diſaſter added to their misfortune. For the following year they received a very conſiderable loſs by thunder, which very much ſpoiled and annoyed the country, and laid ſeveral houſes and towns in aſhes. About the ſame time, Gruffith the ſon of Run a perſon of conſiderable quality in Wales, dyed; and Griffri the ſon of Kyngen, was treacherouſly murthered by the practices of his brother Elis.

But Conan could not reſt ſatisfied with his brother Howel's forcible poſſeſſion of the Iſland of Angleſey; and therefore he was reſolved to give him another battle, and to force him to reſtore and yield up the poſſeſſion of that Country, which he had now violently

kept

kept in his hands. Howel on the other hand, being as reſolutely bent to maintain his ground, and not to deliver up a foot of what he was now, upon a double reſpect, *viz.* his father's legacy, and his late conqueſt, owner of; willingly met his brother, put him to flight, and killed a great number of his forces. Conan was cruelly enraged at this ſhameful overthrow, and therefore made a firm reſolution, either to recover the Iſland from his brother, or to ſacrifice his life and his crown in the quarrel. Having drawn up all the A. D. 817. forces he could raiſe together, he marched to Angleſey to ſeek his brother Howel; who being too weak to encounter and oppoſe ſo conſiderable a number, was compelled to make his eſcape to the Iſle of Man, and to leave the Iſland of Angleſey to the mercy of his brother. But Conan did not live long to reap the ſatisfaction of this victory, but died in a ſhort time, leaving iſſue behind him, one only daughter called Eſylht, married to a nobleman of Wales named Merfyn Frych. He was ſon to Gwyriad or Uriet, the ſon of Elidure, who lineally deſcended from Belinus the brother of Brennus king of the Britains. His mother was Neſt, the daughter of Cadelh king of Powys, the ſon of Brochwel Yſcithroc; who together with Cadfan king of Britain, Morgan king of Demetia, and Bledericus king of Cornwall, gave that memorable overthrow to Ethelred king of Northumberland, upon the river Dee, in the year 617. This Brochwel by the Latin writers named Brecivallus and Brochmaelus, was a very conſiderable prince in that part of Britain, called Powys-land; as alſo Earl of Cheſter, and lived in the town then called Pengwern Powys, now Salop; in the houſe where ſince the college of St. Chad ſtands. He was a great friend and a favourer to the monks of Bangor, whoſe part he took againſt the Saxons that were ſet on by Auguſtine the monk, to proſecute them with fire and ſword, becauſe they would not forſake the cuſtoms of their own church, and conform to thoſe of Rome.

MERFYN FRYCH and ESYLHT.

CONAN being dead, Merfyn Frych and his wife Eſylht, who was ſole heir to Conan, took upon them the government or principality of Wales. This Merfyn was king of Man, and ſon to Gwyriat and Neſt the daughter of Cadelh ap Brochwel ap Elis king of Powys. Howel being forcibly ejected out of Angleſey by his brother Conan Tindaethwy, eſcaping to the Iſland of Man, was honourably and kindly received by Merfyn; in return of whoſe civilities Howel uſed ſuch means afterwards that Merfyn married Eſylht, the daughter and heir of his brother Conan, (though others ſay, that he died preſently after his eſcape to Merfyn.) Howel after that he had for about five years enjoyed the Iſle of Man, and other lands in the north, given him by Merfyn to hold under him, died about the year 825; after whoſe death, they again returned to Merfyn, whoſe anceſtors had always held the ſame, under the kings of the Britains; and ſo, upon his marriage with Eſylht, the Iſle of Man was annexed to the crown of Wales.

In the firſt year of their reign, Egbert, the powerful king of the Weſt Saxons, entered with a mighty army into Wales, deſtroyed and waſted the country as far as Snowden Hills, and ſeized upon the lordſhip of Rhyvonioc in Denbighland. About the ſame time a very ſore battle was fought in Angleſey, between the Saxons and the Welch, called, from the place where this fight happened, the battle of Lhanvaes. Fortune ſeemed all this while to frown upon the Welch, and their affairs ſucceeded very ill; for ſhortly after that Egbert had advanced his colours as far as Snowden, Kenulph king of Mercia waſted the country of Weſt Wales, over-ran and deſtroyed Powis-land,

Powis-land, and greatly disturbed and incommoded the Welch nation. Soon after this, Kenulph died, and was succeeded by Kenelm; and he in a short time by Ceolwulph, who, after two years reign, left the kingdom of Mercia to Bernulph.

Egbert, king of the West Saxons, was grown very strong and powerful, able to reduce all the petty kingdoms in Britain, under one single monarchy; upon the thoughts of which, he set upon Bernulph, king of Mercia, and vanquished him at Elledowne; and afterwards brought under subjection the countries of Kent and of the West Angles. But the Britains could not be so easily subdued; for after a long and a cruel fight at Gavelford, between them and the West Saxons of Devonshire, in which several thousands were slain on both sides, the victory remained uncertain. He had better success against Wyhtlafe, king of Mercia, whose dominions he easily added to his now increasing Monarchy; and passing the Humber, he quickly reduced that country to his subjection. The Saxon heptarchy was now become one kingdom, and Egbert sole monarch of all the countries that the Saxons possessed in Britain; which name he ordered should be changed to England, his people to be called Englishmen, and the language English. A. D. 829.

They who came over out of Germany into this island to aid the Britains against their enemies the Picts and Scots, were partly Saxons, Angles, and Juthes; from the first of which came the people of Essex, Sussex, Middlesex, and the West Saxons; from the Angles, the East Angles, the Mercians, and they that inhabited the north side of the Humber; from the Juthes, the Kentishmen, and they that settled in the Isle of Wight. These Germans, after that they had drove the Britains beyond Severn and Dee; erected seven kingdoms called the heptarchy in the other part of the Island; whereof, 1. Kent. 2. Of the South-Saxons, containing Sussex and Surrey. 3. The East-Angles, in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire. 4. The kingdom of the West Saxons, comprehending Berkshire, Devonshire, Somersetshire, and Cornwall. 5. Mercia,

5. Mercia, containing Gloceſter, Hereford, Worceſter, Shropſhire, Stafford, Cheſhire, Warwick, Leiceſter, Darby, Nottingham, Lincoln, Northampton, Oxford, Buckingham, Bedford, and half Hertfordſhire. 6. The Eaſt-Saxons, containing Eſſex, Middleſex, and the other part of Hertford. 7. Of the Northumbrians, taking in all the country beyond Humber, which was divided into two parts, Deyra and Bernicia; the firſt from Humber to Tyne, the other from Tyne to the Scottiſh Sea.

Egbert, king of the Weſt-Saxons, having ſeverally conquered theſe kingdoms, annexed them together, and comprehended them under one monarchy, which was called the kingdom of England, 968 years after the coming of Brute to this Iſland; 383 years after the landing of Hengiſt; and 149 after the departure of Cadwalader to Rome.

Egbert having thus united under one government theſe ſeveral kingdoms, which uſed continually to moleſt, and to incroach upon each others territories; might reaſonably have expected to enjoy his new
A. D. 883. kingdom quietly, and not fear any diſturbance or trouble in his dominions. But no ſooner was he eſtabliſhed king of England, but the Danes began to threaten new commotions, and landed in great numbers, and in divers places of the kingdom. Egbert fought ſeveral battles with them, and with various ſucceſs: at length the Danes landed in Weſt Wales, marched forward for England, being joined by a great number of Welch, and met Egbert upon Hengiſt-down, where a ſevere battle was fought, and the Danes put to a total rout. The Welch ſuffered ſeverely for this; Egbert, being highly incenſed that the Danes were ſupported by them, laid ſiege to Caer Lhêon ar Dhyfrdwy, or Cheſter, the chief city of Venedotia, which hitherto had remained in the hands of the Welch; took the town, and, among other tokens of his indignation, he cauſed the brazen effigies of Cadwalhon, king of Britain, to be pulled down and defaced, and upon pain of death forbad the erecting of ſuch again. He iſſued out alſo a proclamation, by the

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inſtigation of his wife Redburga, who always bore an inveterate malice to the Welch; commanding all that were any ways extracted from Britiſh blood, to depart, with all their effects, out of his kingdom, within ſix months upon pain of death. Theſe were very ſevere and inſupportable terms; but he did not live long to ſee them put in execution; for dying ſhortly after the battle of Hengiſt-down, he was ſucceeded by his ſon Ethelwulph. This King Ethelwulph married his daughter to Berthred, who was his tributary king of Mercia, by whoſe help he ſucceſsfully oppoſed the cruel incurſions of the Danes, who miſerably deſtroyed the ſea-coaſts of England with fire and ſword. Theſe Daniſh commotions being indifferently well appeaſed, Berthred, king of Mercia, ſet upon the Welch, between whom a remarkable battle was fought at a place called Kettell; where Merfyn Frych, king of the Britains, was killed, leaving to ſucceed him in the government of Wales, his ſon Roderic Mawr, or the Great.

RODERIC THE GREAT.

MERFYN FRYCH having loſt his life, and with it his kingdom, in the battle of Kettell; his ſon Roderic, ſurnamed the Great, without any oppoſition or conteſt, ſucceeded in the principality of Wales. The firſt thing he effected after his advancement to the crown, was the dividing of Wales into ſeveral provinces, which he diſtinguiſhed into theſe three; Aberffraw, Dinevowr, and Mathraval. Berthred, king of Mercia, being animated by his late ſucceſs againſt Merfyn Frych, purpoſed to perform the like exploits againſt his ſon Roderic. And having gained the aid and aſſiſtance of King Ethelwulph, he entered North Wales, with a ſtrong army, and advanced as far as Angleſey, which he cruelly and miſerably deſtroyed. A. D. 843.

Roderic

Roderic met him ſeveral times, and the Welch did at length ſo gaul and torment him, that, in fine, he had little or nothing to boaſt of; only Meyric, one of the chiefeſt princes among the Britains, was ſlain.

But he was ſoon forced to quit his expedition againſt the Welch, and to convert his forces another way; his own dominions requiring their conſtant reſidence, being ſeverely threatened by a foreign in-
A. D. 846. vaſion. For the Danes were by this time grown ſo very powerful, that they over-ran a great part of England, fought with Athelſtan, king of Kent, brother to Ethelwulph; and obtained ſo much conqueſt, that whereas before they returned to their own country when the weather grew too cold for action, they now took up their winter-quarters in England.

The Welch, in the mean time, being ſecure from any violence, which might otherwiſe be expected, from the Engliſh; began to quarrel and fall out amongſt themſelves. Ithel, king of Gwent, or Wentland, for what occaſion not known, fell foul upon the men of Brecknock, who were ſo reſolute as to fight him; and the event proved very unfortunate to Ithel, who was ſlain upon the ſpot. It is the unhappineſs of a nation that is governed by ſeveral petty ſtates, when it is apprehenſive of no danger from an outward enemy that it will fall at variance, and create diſturbances among itſelf.

Had the Britains, inſtead of falling upon one another, taken the advantage of this opportunity, when the Saxons were altogether employed in oppoſing and repelling the Danes, to increaſe and ſtrengthen their number, and to fortify their towns; they might at leaſt ſecurely have poſſeſſed their own dominions, if not extended their government to a great part of England. But a ſort of an equality in power, begat an emulation between the ſeveral princes, and this emulation for the moſt part ended in blows and contention; ſo that inſtead of ſtrengthening themſelves whilſt they had reſpite from the Engliſh, they rather weakened their power by inward differences.

Konger

Kongen, king of Powys, was gone to Rome, there A.D. 854.
to end his days peaceably and religiouſly, but his death did not prove ſo natural as he expected, being barbarouſly ſlain, or (as ſome ſay) choaked by his own ſervants. Shortly after died Cemoyth, king of the Picts, and Jonathan, lord of Abergeley. It was now become cuſtomary for princes wearied with government to go to Rome, and the Pope willingly diſpenſed with the reſignation of their crowns, by reaſon that his Holineſs ſeldom loſt by it. King Ethelwulph paid very dear for his entertainment there, made his kingdom tributary to the Pope, and paid the Peter-pence to the church of Rome. The Saxon genealogiſts bring the pedigree of Ethelwulph for ſeveral ſucceſſions and generations, up to Adam, as may be ſeen in Matthew of Weſtminſter, who in like manner derives the pedigree of Offa, king of Mercia. This has been the cuſtom of moſt nations, both antient and modern: and is always practiſed by them whoſe families are any thing antient and honourable; ſo that it is a very great miſtake to ſcoff at, and deride the Welch becauſe they keep up this antient and laudable cuſtom.

Berthred, king of Mercia, became at length far too weak to repel the daily increaſing power of the Danes, who ſo numerouſly poured upon him, that at laſt he was forced to relinquiſh his kingdom and fly to Rome, where in a ſhort time he ſorrowfully ended his days. Ethelwulph ſhortly followed, and left his ſons, Athelbald, king of the Weſt-Saxons, and Athelbright, king of Kent, and the Eaſt-Saxons. Ethelwulph is reported to have been ſo learned and devout, that the church of Wincheſter elected him in his youth biſhop of that ſee, which function he took upon him about ſeven years before he was made king. He is ſaid alſo to have conquered the kingdom of Demetia or South-Wales; which together with the kingdom of the South-Saxons he beſtowed upon his ſon Alfred, upon condition he would bring a thouſand men out of Wales to Wincheſter, to the aid of his brother Ethelbert againſt the Danes. Athelbald ſucceeding his

his father in the kingdom of the Weſt-Saxons, kept his mother-in-law, the wife of Ethelwulph, for his concubine, and afterwards married her in the city of Cheſter. But he did not live long to enjoy this unnatural conjunction, but dying without iſſue after that he had reigned eight years, left his kingdom to his brother Athelbright.

About the ſame time the Danes began again to beſtir themſelves and fell upon the city of Wincheſter and deſtroyed it, which Athelbright perceiving, after a long fight forced them to quit the land, and to betake themſelves to ſea again. But the Danes quickly returned to the Iſle of Thanet, where they remained for that winter, doing much miſchief upon the ſea-coaſt, and deſtroying all places near the ſhoars of England. The Engliſh were very glad that they durſt venture no further, and the more, becauſe the Welch began again to be troubleſome, againſt whom an army muſt be ſpeedily diſpatched, otherwiſe they would certainly advance to the Engliſh country. Both armies met at Gweythen, where a fierce battle was fought, and a great number ſlain on either ſide, but the victory was not plainly diſcoverable. But the Welch not long after, received a conſiderable loſs by the death of Conan Nant Nifer, a ſtout and ſkilful commander, who oftentimes had valiantly repulſed the Engliſh forces, and obtained many ſignal victories over them.

The Danes had been for ſome time quiet, being unable to venture upon any conſiderable action, and therefore they thought it adviſeable to ſecure only what they had already won, and to expect a re-inforcement from their own country. This was quickly ſent them, under the command of Hungare and Hubba, who landed in England with a very conſiderable army of Danes. King Athelbright, whether terrified with a diſmal apprehenſion of theſe invaders, or otherwiſe being indiſpoſed, quickly afterwards gave up the ghoſt, leaving the management of his kingdom, together with that of his army againſt the Danes, to his brother Ethelred. The Danes in the mean time

got

got ſure footing, and advanced as far as York, which they miſerably deſtroyed, killing Oſbright and Elba two Kings of Northumberland that oppoſed them. From hence they proceeded, and over-run all the country as far as Nottingham, deſtroying and ſpoiling all before them, and then returned back to York. But having once taſted how ſweet the Spoil of a country, much more fertile than their own was, they could not reſt ſatisfied with what they had already obtained, but muſt needs make a farther progreſs into the country, and fall upon the kingdom of the Eaſt-Angles. Edmund king of that country being not able to endure their inſolencies, endeavoured to oppoſe them, but in the undertaking was unfortunately ſlain. And now after the ſame manner that the Saxons had formerly attained to the conqueſt of Britain, the Danes proceeded to the conqueſt of England. For the Saxons having found out the ſweetneſs of this iſland, and withal, diſcovered the weakneſs and inability of the Britains to oppoſe them, brought over their numbers by degrees, and in ſeveral companies, by which they wearied and tired out the Britiſh armies. For it is certain that nothing can produce more to the conqueſt of an iſland, than the landing an army at ſeveral places and at ſeveral Times, which diſtracts the counſels and proceedings of the inhabitants, and which at this time for want of ſufficient power at ſea, could not be prevented. And ſo the Danes being informed of the good ſucceſs of Hungare and Hubba in England, ſent over another army under the command of Baſreck and Alding, who landed in Weſt-Sax, and fought five battles with King Ethelred and his brother Alfred, namely at Henglefield, Eaſtondown, Redding, Baſing and Mereton, in which two firſt the Engliſh overcame, and the three laſt the Danes got the victory.

Soon after this Ethelred died, leaving his kingdom to his brother Alfred, who no ſooner had taken the government upon him but conſidered with himſelf what a heavy burthen he was to ſuſtain, and therefore

fore he began to enquire after the wiſeſt and learned-eſt men that he could hear of, to be directed by them, whom he worthily entertained, making uſe of their advice as well in the publick government of the kingdom, as in his private ſtudies and conference of learning. He ſent for two men famouſly learned out of Wales, the one called John de Erigena, ſurnamed Scotus; the other Aſſerius, ſurnamed Menevenſis. De Erigena was born at Menevia or St. Davids, and was brought up in that college; who, for the ſake of learning, having travelled to Athens, and beſtowed there many years in the ſtudy of the Greek, Hebrew, and Caldaick tongues, and the ſecret myſteries of philoſophy, came to France; where he was well accepted of by Carolus Calvus, or Charles the Bald, and Ludovicus Balbus, or Lewis the Stammerer: and there tranſlated the works of Dionyſius Areopagita, De Cœleſti Hierarchia out of the Greek into the Latin tongue. Being returned home to Wales, he was ſent for by this King Alfred, who was then founding and erecting the univerſity of Oxford, of which Erigena became the firſt profeſſor and publick reader. But King Alfred bore ſo great a reſpect to learning, that he would ſuffer none to bear any conſiderable office in his court but ſuch as were learned; and withal, exhorted all perſons to embrace learning, and to honour learned men. But though a love to learning be ſeldom reconcileable with a warlike and a military life, King Alfred was alſo forced to regard the diſcipline of war to defend his kingdom againſt the increaſing power of the Danes. For he was ſcarce ſettled in his throne, but this reſtleſs and ever troubleſome people began to moleſt and deſtroy his country, inſomuch that he was of neceſſity forced to oppoſe them, which he did twice upon the ſouth ſide of the river Thames, in which engagements he ſlew of the Danes one king, nine earls, together with an innumerable multitude of inferior ſoldiers. About the ſame time Gwgan ap Meyric ap Dunwal ap Arthen ap Sitſylht, prince of Cardigan, died, being as ſome ſay, unfortunately drowned. But the late

late victories which Alfred had obtained over the Danes, did not ſo much weaken and diſhearten them, but that in a ſhort time they recovered their ſpirits and began again to look terrible and threatening. For as ſoon as they could re-unite their ſcattered forces, they ſet upon and deſtroyed the town of Alclyde, won the city of London and Reading, over-ran all the inland country, and the whole kingdom of Mercia. Another army of Danes at the ſame time proved very ſucceſsful in the North and poſſeſſed themſelves of the country of Northumberland, which action did not ſo much grieve the Engliſh, as trouble and vex the Picts and Scots, who were inceſſantly gauled, and frequently beat off by theſe Daniſh troops. The next year three of the Daniſh captains marched from Cambridge towards Warham in Dorſetſhire, of which expedition King Alfred being informed, preſently detached his forces to oppoſe them, and to offer them battle. The Danes were ſo ſtartled at this, that they immediately deſired peace, and willingly conſented forthwith to depart out of the country, and to forſwear the ſight of Engliſh ground. According to which capitulation, the horſe that night marched for Exeter, and the foot being ſhipped off, were all of them drowned at Sandwich. The Danes having thus abjured England, were not willing to return home empty, but thought it prudent to bend their courſe againſt Wales. They fancied that they were like to meet with no great oppoſition from the Welch, and therefore could carve for themſelves according as their fancy directed them. But having landed their army in Angleſey, they quickly experienced the contrary; Prince Roderic oppoſing them, gave them two battles, one at a place called Bengole, and the other at Menegid in Angleſey. At the ſame time another army of Danes under the command of Halden and Hungare landed in South-Wales, over-ran the whole country, deſtroying all before them, neither ſparing churches nor religious houſes. But they received their due reward at the hands of the Weſt Saxons, who meeting with them on the coaſts of De- 873.

vonſhire, ſlew both Halden and Hungare, with 1200 of their men. The ſame year Einion, biſhop of St. Davids died, and was the following year ſucceeded by Hubert, who was inſtalled in his place.

A. D. 876. The Engliſh being rid of their powerful and ever reſtleſs enemies the Danes, began now to quarrel with the Welch, entering into Angleſey, with a numerous army, fought a ſore battle with Roderic, who together with his brother (or as others ſay his ſon) Gwyriad, was unhappily ſlain in the field, which battle is called by the Welch, Gwaith Duw Sul y Mon. This Roderic had iſſue by his wife Angharad, Anarawd, Cadelh and Merfyn, the laſt of which, Giraldus Cambrenſis, contrary to the vulgar and received opinion, will have to be the eldeſt ſon of Roderic, upon whom was beſtowed the principality of North-Wales. For it was unanimouſly granted that Roderic was undoubted proprietor of all the dominions of Wales, North-Wales deſcending unto him by his mother Eſylht, the daughter and ſole heir of Conan Tyndaethwy; South-Wales by his Wife Angharad, the daughter of Meyric ap Dyfnwal ap Arthen ap Sitſylht, King of Cardigan; Powis by Neſt, the ſiſter and heir of Congen ap Cadelh, King of Powis his father's mother. Theſe three dominions Roderic divided between his three ſons, appointing North-Wales for his eldeſt ſon Anarawd, South-Wales to Cadelh, who ſhortly after his father's death, forcibly ſeized upon his brother Merfyn's portion, upon whom Roderic had beſtowed Powis-Land. Wales being thus divided between theſe three princes, they were called Y Tri Tywyſoc Talaethioc, or the three crowned princes, by reaſon that each of them did wear on his helmet a coronet of gold, being a broad head band indented upward, ſet and wrought with precious ſtones, which in the Britiſh Tongue is called Taleath. To each of theſe princes Roderic built a royal ſeat, for the Prince of Gwyneth or North-Wales, at Aberffraw; of South-Wales, at Dinefawr; for the Prince of Powis, at Mathrafel. Roderic had iſſue alſo, beſides theſe three, Roderic, Meyric, Edwal or Tudwal, Gwyriad and Gathelic.

But

But Roderic having divided his principality betwixt his eldeſt ſons, namely, Aberffraw, with the fifteen cantreds thereunto belonging to Anarawd; Dinefawr with its 15 cantreds extending from the mouth of the river Doſi, to the mouth of Severn to Cadelh; and Powis with fifteen cantreds from the mouth of the river Dee, to the bridge over Severn at Gloceſter to Merfyn: Ordained, "That his eldeſt ſon Anarawd, and his ſucceſſors, ſhould continue the payment of the ancient tribute to the Crown of England; and the other two, their heirs and ſucceſſors ſhould acknowledge his ſovereignty; and, that upon any foreign invaſion, they ſhould mutually aid and protect one another."

And he farther appointed, "That when any difference ſhould ariſe betwixt the Princes of Aberffraw and Cardigan or Dinefawr, the three Princes ſhould meet at Bwlch y Pawl, and the Prince of Powis ſhould be umpire. But if the Prince of Aberffraw and Powis fell at variance, they ſhould meet at Dol Rhianedd, probably Morva Rhianedd, on the bank of the river Dee, where the King of Cardigan was to adjuſt the controverſy; and if the quarrel happened betwixt the Princes of Powis and Cardigan, the meeting was appointed at Llys Wen upon the river Wye, and to be decided by the Prince of Aberffraw."

And the better to fruſtrate any attempt of the Engliſh, he ordained moreover, "That all ſtrong holds, caſtles and citadels, ſhould be fortified and kept in repair; that all churches and religious houſes ſhould be re-edified and adorned, and that in all ages the hiſtory of Britain, being faithfully regiſtered and tranſcribed, ſhould be kept therein.

ANARAWD.

THE Welch had often ſorrowfully felt the unnatural effects of inward ſeditions, and of being governed by ſeveral princes, which were now unavoidably to be renewed by reaſon of Rodric's imprudent diviſion of his dominions between his three ſons. For the ſeveral principalities being united in him, it was certainly the moſt politic means for the preſervation of the country from the inveterate fury of the Engliſh, to compoſe the inward differences which would otherwiſe happen, by perpetuating the whole government of Wales in one prince. For it was impoſſible effectually to oppoſe the common enemy by ſeparate armies, and where a different intereſt interfered, as if the ſafety of the ſame country, and the honour of the prince were unanimouſly regarded. This was the unhappineſs of the ancient Britains, when the Romans invaded their country; domeſtic broils and inward diſſentions being ſown among themſelves, they could not agree to unite their powers, and jointly to oppoſe the common enemy; ſo that Tacitus wiſely concludes, *Dum ſinguli pugnant univerſi vincuntur.*

There are few nations but have experienced the folly of being rent into ſeveral portions, and the downfal of that great body the Roman empire, may not be abſurdly attributed to Conſtantine's dividing of it between his ſons. But the Welch at this time preſently felt the unhappineſs of it; Cadelh, Prince of South-Wales, being diſſatisfied with his portion, and deſirous to feed his ambition with larger territories, could not ſpare his brother Merfyn's country, but muſt needs forcibly diſpoſſeſs him of his lawful inheritance, and ſo involve the Welch in a Civil War.

But

But the ſucceſſion of the Princes of Wales proceeds in Anarawd, the eldeſt ſon of Roderic, who began his reign over North-Wales, in the year 877. 877.
At that time Rollo, with a numerous army of Normans deſcended into France, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the country of Neuſtria, which from them has ſince received the name of Normandy. But the treacherous Danes in England, who had retired to the city of Exeter, quickly violated the capitulation which they had lately ſwore to obſerve, and upon that account were ſo warmly purſued by King Alfred, that they gladly delivered up hoſtages for the performance of the articles formerly agreed upon between them. But it was not their intention to keep them long, for the next year they again broke loſe, poſſeſſed themſelves of all the country upon the north ſide of Thames, and paſſing the river, put the Engliſh to flight, and made themſelves maſters of Chippenham in Weſt-Sax. But their whole army did not ſucceed ſo well, for Alfred meeting with a party of them, ſlew their captain and took their ſtandard, which the Danes called RAVEN. After this he vanquiſhed them again at Edendown, where after that the Danes had given hoſtages for their peaceable behaviour; Godrun, their commander, received the Chriſtian faith, and ſo reigned in Eaſt-Angle. But this opportunity ſeemed to threaten a great ſtorm upon Wales; for beſides the death of Aedan, the ſon of A. D. 878.
Melht, a nobleman of the country, the articles of compoſition between the Engliſh and the Danes, occaſioned theſe laſt to join their power with the people of Mercia to fight againſt the Welch, between whom a ſevere battle was fought at Conwey, wherein the Welch obtained a very ſignal victory, which was called "Dial Rodri, or the Revenge of the Death of Prince Roderic."

The reaſon why the Mercians were ſo irreconcilably enraged againſt the Welch at this time, was this: After the death of Roderic the Great, the northern Britains of Stratclwyd and Cumberland were mightily infeſted and weakened through the daily incurſions of the

Danes, Saxons and Scots, inſomuch that as many of them as would not ſubmit their necks to the yoke were forced to quit their country, and to ſeek for more quiet habitations. Therefore towards the beginning of Anarawd's reign, ſeveral of them came to Gwyneth, under the conduct of one Hobert, whoſe diſtreſſed condition the prince commiſerating, granted them all the country betwixt Cheſter and Conwey to ſeat themſelves in, in caſe they could drive out the Saxons who had lately poſſeſſed themſelves of it.

The Britains having returned their thanks to Anarawd, preſently fell to work, and neceſſity giving edge to their valour, they eaſily diſpoſſeſſed the Saxons who were not as yet warm in their ſeats. For ſome time they continued peaceably in this part of Wales; but Eadred, Duke of Mercia, called by the Welch Edryd Wallthir, not being able any longer to bear ſuch an ignominious ejection, made great preparations for the re-gaining of the ſaid country. But the northern Britains, who had ſettled themſelves there, having intelligence of his deſign, for the better ſecurity of their cattle and other effects, removed them beyond the river Conwey. Prince Anarawd in the mean time was not idle, but drawing together all the ſtrength he could raiſe, encamped his army near the town of Conwey at a place called Cymryt, where himſelf and his men having made gallant reſiſtance againſt the preſſing efforts of the Saxons, obtained a very compleat victory.

This battle was by ſome called Gwaeth Cymryt Conwey, by reaſon that it was fought in the townſhip of Cymryt, near Conwey. But Prince Anarawd would have it called Dial Rodri, becauſe he had there revenged the death of his father Rodri.

In this battle Tudwal, Rodri's ſon, received a wound in the knee, which made him be donominated Tudwal Gloff ever after; but for his ſignal ſervice in this action his brethren beſtowed upon him Uchelogoed Gwynedd. But the Britains purſuing their victory, chaſed the Saxons quite out of Wales into Mercia, where having burnt and deſtroyed the borders, they returned home laden with rich ſpoils, and ſo took poſſeſſion

poſſeſſion of the country betwixt Cheſter and Conwey, which for a long time after they peaceably enjoyed. But Anarawd to expreſs his thankfulneſs to God for this great victory, gave very conſiderable lands and poſſeſſions to the collegiate churches of Bangor and Clynnoc Vawr in Arfon. After this, thoſe Danes that lay at Fulhenham near London, croſſed the ſea to France, and paſſing to Paris along the river Seyn, ſpoiled the country thereabouts, and vanquiſhed the French that came againſt them; but in their return towards the ſea coaſt, they were met with by the Britains of Armorica, who ſlew the greateſt part of them, and the reſt confuſedly endeavouring to eſcape to their ſhips, were all drowned.

One ſhould think that the ſeveral misfortunes the Danes ſuſtained firſt at Sandwich, then by King Alfred, and now in France, would have quite drained their number, and utterly have rid Britain from ſo troubleſome an enemy. But like ill weeds, the more you root them, the faſter they will grow; the Danes were ſtill ſupplied from abroad, and if an army was vanquiſhed here, another was ſure to come in their room. This the Welch found too true, for not long after this famous defeat by the Armorican Britains, the Danes not able to venture upon theſe, were reſolved to revenge themſelves upon their friends of Wales, and therefore landing in North-Wales, they cruelly harraſſed and deſtroyed the country. Nor is it ſtrange to conſider from whence ſuch a wonderful number of Danes and Normans could come. For the kingdom of Denmark had under it, not only Denmark, which is a ſmall country divided by the ſea into Inſulas and Peninſulas, as that which joins upon Saxony and Holſatia, called Cymbrica Cherſoneſus, with the iſlands of Zealand and Finnen, but alſo Norway, and the large country of Sweden, reaching to Muſcovy, and almoſt to the North-Pole. This country being then ſcarce known to the world, did of a ſudden pour out ſuch a multitude of people, which like a ſudden ſtorm unexpectedly over-ran all Europe, with a great part of the country of Africa. From

h nce proceeded theſe Danes who annoyed England; and the Normans, who conquered France; both nations being originally derived from the ſame ſtock.

A. D. 890. The Danes had not appeared in England for ſome time, and therefore are now reſolved to take ſo ſure a footing, as they cannot eaſily be repulſed. Two hundred and fifty ſail being landed at Lymene in Kent, hard by the great foreſt of Andreſlege, they built the caſtle of Auldre or Apledore. The ſame time Haſting with a fleet of eighty ſail ventured to the Thames mouth, and built the caſtle of Mydlton; having firſt made an oath to King Alfred, not to moleſt him or any of his ſubjects: but having built the caſtle of Beamfleet, he thought himſelf to have obtained ſo great a ſtrength, that there was no neceſſity of obſerving the oath lately ſworn to King Alfred, and therefore invaded the country round about him. But he ſoon found his miſtake, and was forced to betake himſelf back to his caſtle, which was quickly pulled down upon his head, and his wife and two ſons taken priſoners; who being chriſtened, were again reſtored to their father. Upon this Haſting and his Danes departed from England, and made their way for France; where laying ſiege to the city of Limogis, and deſpairing of a ſpeedy ſurrender of it, betook himſelf to his uſual way of dealing ſiniſtrouſly, and deviſed this trick to win the town: He feigned himſelf to be dangerouſly ſick, and ſent to the biſhop, and the conſul of the city, deſiring of them moſt earneſtly, that he might be admitted to the Chriſtian Faith, and be baptized before his departure out of this world. The biſhop and conſul ſuſpecting no deceit, were very glad, not only to be delivered from the preſent danger of being beſieged, but alſo to win ſo great a perſon to the congregation of Chriſt. Whereupon a firm peace being concluded betwixt both nations, Haſting is baptized, the biſhop and conſul being his godfathers; which being ended, he was carried back by his ſoldiers to his ſhips, in a very infirm condition, as he outwardly pretended. About midnight he cauſed himſelf with his arms about him to be laid on a bier, and commanded his

ſoldiers

ſoldiers to carry their weapons with them under their coats, and ſo to be ready when he ſhould give them the word. The next day, all things being in a readineſs, he was ſolemnly brought by his ſoldiers with great clamour and counterfeit mourning, to be interred in the chief church of the city; where the biſhop and conſul, accompanied with all the moſt honourable members of the town, came to honour the funeral: but when the biſhop had made himſelf ready to bury the body, and all the citizens being in the church, up ſtarts Haſting with his Sword drawn, and killing firſt the biſhop and the conſul, afterwards fell in with his armed ſoldiers upon the naked people, putting all to the ſword, and ſparing neither age, ſex, nor infirmity. Having ranſacked the town, he ſent meſſengers to Charles the French king, to mediate for peace, which he eaſily obtained, together with the town of Chartres towards the defraying of his charges.

At this time Hennith ap Bledric, a baron of Wales, died; and two years after, Anarawd prince of North Wales, with a conſiderable number of Engliſh, marched againſt his brother Cadelh, and ſpoiled the countries of Cardigan and Yſtradgwy. At the ſame time the Danes laid ſiege to the city of Exeter; and when Alfred had marched to oppoſe them, they that continued in the caſtle of Auldre paſſed over to Eſſex, and built another caſtle at Scobrith, and from thence marched to Budington, ſeated upon the Severn. When Alfred came near to Exeter, the Danes preſently raiſed the Siege, and betaking themſelves to their ſhips, ſailed towards Wales, and ſpoiled the ſea-coſt thereof, and advanced as far as Buellt. A. D. 891. 893.

But the Danes at Budington being informed that king Alfred marched againſt them, fled back to their caſtle in Eſſex: ſo that the king was fain to alter his march, and to convert his forces againſt Leiceſter; where a party of Danes was ſo warmly beſieged, that at length they were reduced to that extremity, as to feed upon their horſes. But the ſeaſon of the year for action being ended, and the extremity

of

of the weather being advanced, Alfred was forced to raiſe the ſiege, and to wait the next opportunity
A. D. 895. for the recovery of the town. But before he could appear before it again, the Danes fairly quitted it, and together with thoſe in Northumberland, paſſed by the North Sea to Mereſige, an iſle in Eſſex. The
896. next year they entered the Thames, and built a caſtle twenty miles diſtant from London; upon the ſtrength of which, they ventured to ſpoil and waſte the country thereabouts; but paid very dear for their courage, being accidentally met with, they received a bloody overthrow, having four of their princes ſlain upon the ſpot, and the reſt very glad to make their eſcape to the caſtle. Upon this Alfred divided the river into three ſtreams, by which ſtratagem the water became ſo diminiſhed in the Thames, that the Daniſh ſhips could not return back into the ſea. When the Danes perceived this, and found it impracticable for them to eſcape in their ſhips, they left their wives and children and all their effects in Eſſex; and ſo paſſed by land to Enadbryge upon the Severn, and then paſſing the river, ſpoiled the countries of Brecknock, Gwentland, and Gwentlhwg. Some of them at the ſame time, paſſed over to France; and another company coaſting about Devonſhire, deſtroyed the maritime countries; but being met with by the Engliſh, loſt ſix of their ſhips in the diſpute.

897. The following ſummer the kingdom of Ireland ſuffered extremely by locuſts, who conſumed all the corn and all graſs through the whole country; but were at length by continued prayers and faſting quite deſtroyed. Theſe are common in Africk, and other hot regions, but ſeldom ſeen in colder climates; and when they happen to travel ſo far, they are always very peſtilentious and deſtructive to that country they come to.

900. This year Igmond, with a great number of Danes, landed in Angleſey, and was met with by the Welch, at a place called Molerain, where Merfyn was ſlain: though others call it Meilon, and from the battle fought there, Maes Rhos Meilon. The ſame year

King

King Alfred died, who tranſlated the antient laws of Dyfnwall Moelmut, king of Britain, and the laws of Queen Marſia, out of Britiſh into Engliſh, and called it Marſian law, which was afterwards called Weſt-Saxon law, and obſerved in part of Mercia, with all the countries on the ſouth of Thames: The other part of the country having another law called Dane Lex, both which remained to the time of Edward the Confeſſor, who of theſe two made one law. It is very obſervable, what is related of King Alfred, concerning his diviſion of the natural day into three parts; the one he ſet apart for devotion and ſtudy, the next for the affairs of the commonwealth, and the third for his own reſt and refreſhment.

Alfred being dead, Edward his eldeſt ſon took upon him the crown, which ſo diſpleaſed the ambitious ſpirit of his brother Adelwulph, that preſently he raiſed a cruel war againſt him, and flying to Northumberland, ſtirred up the Danes againſt his brother Edward. The Danes were glad of the opportunity, having now a fair pretence to render themſelves maſters of the whole iſland; and therefore Adelwulph is made king, as well of the Angles as of the Danes, who by this time were grown to be one People. Marching then proudly with a very conſiderable army at his heels, he ſubdued the Eaſt-Saxons, ſpoiled the country of Mercia; and paſſing over the Thames at Crickland, deſtroyed Brythend, and returned home with very great booty. At the ſame time Euneth was ſlain in Arwyſtly. But Edward being informed of his brother's retreat, purſued him very eagerly; but miſſing of him, over-ran and deſtroyed all the country betwixt Ouſe and the Dike of St. Edmund, and then returned home with his whole army, ſaving the Kentiſh men, who being too greedy of plunder, raſhly tarried behind. For the Danes perceiving the body of the army to be returned, and that a ſmall party ſtill continued to ravage the country, preſently ſet upon them, ſlew a great number of them, and put the reſt to a ſhameful flight. Nor were the

Danes

Danes only powerful in England, but moleſted and
A. D. 905. grew prevalent in Ireland: For this year they entered that kingdom, ſlew Carmot, king and biſhop of all Ireland, a religious and a virtuous perſon, the ſon of Cukeman; and Kyrnalt, ſon of Murgan, king of La-
906. gines. The year after died Aſſer, archbiſhop of St. David's, uncle to the famous and learned Aſſer, ſurnamed Menevenſis; who being chancellor to his uncle the archbiſhop, was ſent for by King Alfred to inſtruct his children; whoſe life he afterwards wrote, and was made biſhop of Shireburn.

Edward, to force his brother from his country, and to revenge the death of the Kentiſhmen, diſpatched an army to Northumberland; which having ſpoiled the country, returned home: Upon which the Danes, to return their kindneſs, deſtroyed a great part of Mercia. But within a while after, Edward having raiſed a very conſiderable army, gave the Danes battle, overthrew them, and ſlew their kings Alden and Edelwulph, with a great number of their nobles. This added very much to his dominions, which were the more increaſed and ſtrengthened by the addition of the cities of London and Oxford; which upon the death of Edelred, duke of Mercia, Edward ſeized into his own hands, permitting his wife Elfleda to enjoy the reſt of his dukedom.
907. Shortly after, Cadelh, prince of South Wales, died, leaving behind him three ſons; Howel Dha, or the Good, who ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of South Wales; Meyric and Clydawc. King Edward having obtained ſo ſignal a victory over the Danes, and rendered his kingdom for ſome time quiet, began to build places of ſtrength, which might be ſerviceable againſt a future ſtorm: He built a caſtle at Hertford, betwixt the rivers Benefic, Minier, and Lige; and alſo erected the borough of Wytham in Eſſex; and continued ſometime in Wealdyne, to keep thoſe countries in awe. But in ſpite of all this precaution, the Danes of Leyceſter and Hampton, began the following year to be very troubleſome, ſlew a great number of Engliſh at Hotchnorton; and in their return homeward,

ward, deſtroyed the country of Oxford. About the ſame time a conſiderable fleet from Tydwike, under the command of Uther and Rahald, ſailed by the weſtern ſea to Wales, and deſtroyed St. David's; where was fought the battle of Dinarth, and Mayloc. the ſon of Peredur Gam, was ſlain. After this they entered into Herefordſhire, where they were fought withal, and Rahald was ſlain, and the reſt compelled to forſwear the king's land, and never to return any more to England. King Edward, to prevent any future diſturbance from ſuch open invaders, cauſed a ſtrong army to be quartered upon the ſouth ſide of Severn; but the Danes, for all he could do, entered twice into his country, once at Werd, and then at Portogan; but were both times overthrown by the Engliſh. From thence they departed to the Iſle of Stepen, whence they were forced by hunger to ſail to South Wales, intending to make a conſiderable prey of that country; but failing of their aim, they were conſtrained to make the beſt of their way for Ireland. But the next year, a party of Danes fought a very ſevere battle with the Kentiſh men at Holm; but which of them obtained the victory, is not certainly reported. About the ſame time Anarawd, prince of North Wales, died, leaving behind him two ſons, Edwal Foel, and Elis; and ſome ſay a third, named Meyric. A. D. 911. 913.

EDWAL FOEL.

AFTER the death of Anarawd, his eldeſt ſon Edwal Foel took upon him the government of North-Wales; Howel Dha holding the principality of South-Wales and Powis: At what time, a terrible comet appeared in the heavens. The ſame year the city of Cheſter, which had been deſtroyed by the Danes, was, by the procurement of Elfleda, new built and repaired,

repaired, as the ancient records of that city do teſtify. This in the ancient copy is called Leyceſter, by an eaſy miſtake for Legeceſtria or Cheſter, called by the Romans, Legionum Ceſtria. The next ſummer the men of Dublin cruelly deſtroyed the iſle of Angleſey; and ſoon after, Clydawc the ſon of Cadelb, was unnaturally ſlain by his brother Meyric, about the ſame time that the Danes received a cruel overthrow by the Engliſh, at Tottenhale. But Elfleda did not long ſurvive the rebuilding of the city of Cheſter; a woman of ſingular virtues, and one that greatly ſtrengthened the kingdom of Mercia, by building of towns and caſtles againſt the incurſions of the Danes; as Strengat and Bruge, by the foreſt of Morph, Tamworth, Stafford, Edelburgh, Cherenburgh, Wadeburgh, and Runcofe. After this, ſhe entered with her whole army into Wales, won Brecknock, and took the queen, with thirty-three of her men priſoners; which in Welch is called "Gwaith y Ddinas Newydh, or the battle of the new city. From hence ſhe marched for Derby, which ſhe took from the Danes, loſing only four of her chief commanders in the action.

The occaſion of theſe two expeditions, according to ſome, was this: Huganus, lord of Weſt Wales, perceiving King Edward to be unavoidably buſy in the Daniſh war, gathered an army of Britains, and entering into England, deſtroyed the king's country. Upon the news of this, Elfleda came to Wales with a great army, fought with the Welch at Brecknock, and putting Huganus to flight, took his wife and ſome of his men priſoners, whom ſhe carried with her to Mercia. Huganus being thus defeated, fled to Derby, and being there kindly received, joined himſelf with the king's enemies, the Danes. Elfleda being certified of that, followed him with her army; but in ſtorming the gates of the town, had four of her beſt officers killed by Huganus. But Gwyane, Lord of the Iſle of Ely, her ſteward, ſetting fire to the gates, furiouſly ran upon the Britains, and entered the town; upon which Huganus perceiving himſelf to be over-matched, choſe rather to fall by the ſword, than

than cowardly to yield himſelf to a woman. The next year Elfleda laid ſiege to the city of Leiceſter, which was quickly ſurrendered, and the Danes therein perfectly ſubdued. The fame of theſe ſeveral actions being noiſed abroad, her neighbours became ſomewhat fearful and timerous; and the Yorkſhiremen voluntarily did her homage, and proffered their ſervice. She died at Tamworth, after eight years rule over Mercia; and lies buried at Gloceſter by St. Peters.

After the death of Elfleda, king Edward moſt ungratefully diſinherited her daughter Alfwyen; and entering into Mercia, ſeized all the land into his own hands; upon pretence that ſhe, without his knowledge, (whom her mother had appointed her guardian) had privily promiſed and contracted marriage with Raynald king of the Danes. But this unjuſt and unnatural action of king Edward's, might poſſibly bring upon him thoſe vehement troubles, which preſently enſued upon it. For Leofred a Dane, and Gruffydh ap Madoc brother-in-law to the prince of Weſt Wales, came from Ireland with a great army to Snowdon, and minding to bring all Wales and the marches thereof to their ſubjection, over-ran and ſubdued all the country to Cheſter, before king Edward was certified of their arrival. Whereat being ſore offended, and loth to trouble his ſubjects for help, vowed that himſelf and his ſons, with their ſingle forces, would be revenged upon Leofred and Gruffydh; and thereupon marching to Cheſter, forced the city from them. Then he divided his army into two battles, whereof he and his ſon Athelſtane led the firſt, Edmund and Edred the ſecond; and followed them ſo cloſe, that he overtook them at the foreſt of Walewode (now Sherwode) where Leofred and Gruffydh ſet upon them ſo fiercely, that the king at firſt was in ſome danger; until Athelſtane ſtepped in and wounded the Dane in the arm in that manner, that being no longer able to hold his ſpear, he was taken priſoner, and committed to the cuſtody of Athelſtane. In the mean time Edmund and Edred

encountering

encountering with Gruffydh, ſlew him, and brought his head to their father; and Leofred's head being likewiſe cut off, they were both ſet up upon the town of Cheſter; and then Edward, together with his ſons, victoriouſly returned home. But King Edward, ha-
A. D. 924. ving built Glademutham, ſoon after this died at Farandon, and his ſon Alfred the ſame time at Oxford, and were both buried at Wincheſter.

Edward being dead, his baſe ſon Athelſtane, for many excellent virtues appearing in him, was preferred to the crown; the worthieſt prince of the Saxon blood that ever reigned. He overcame Cudfryd, the father of Raynald, King of the Danes, at York; and being invaded by Hawlaf, King of Ireland, who, with all the power of the Scots and Danes marched againſt him, gave him battle at Brimeſtbury, and obtained a very notorious victory; King Hawlaf, together with the King of the Scots, five Kings of the Danes and Normans being ſlain upon the ſpot: ſo that the whole country of England and Scotland became ſubject to him, which none of his predeceſſors ever attempted.

933. Sometime after, Owen, the ſon of Gruffydh, was ſlain by the men of Cardigan: And then Athelſtane entering with his army into Wales, forced the princes thereof to pay a yearly tribute of 20 l. in gold, 300 l. in ſilver, and 200 head of cattle; which notwithſtanding was not obſerved, as appears by the laws of Howel Dha, wherein it is appointed, That the Prince of Aberffraw ſhould pay no more to the King of London, than 66 l. tribute; and that the Princes of Dinefawr and Powis ſhould pay the like ſum to the Prince of Aberffraw. But King Athelſtane was not leſs terrible abroad, than he was awed and feared at home; the Kings of France and Norway ſending him very great and coſtly preſents, to obtain his favour, and to gain his good will.

936. This year Euneth, the ſon of Clydawc, and Meyric, the ſon of Cadelh died. The ſame time King Athelſtane removed the Britains who lived at Exeter and the neighbouring country to Cornwall; bounding them with the river Cambria (now Tamar;) as the Britains

tains of Wales, with the Wey. Not long after, the noble Prince Athelſtane died, to the great and inexpreſſible ſorrow of all his ſubjects, and was buried at Malmeſbury; and ſucceeded by his brother Edmund, not inferior to him in courage; but preferable by right of nativity, being born in wedlock. In the firſt year of his reign, he gave a very conſiderable blow to the Danes; took from them the cities of Leiceſter, Derby, Stafford, Lincoln, and Nottingham. Then Aulafe, King of the Danes, finding it impracticable to withſtand the force of King Edmund, deſired peace, and withal to be initiated into the Chriſtian Faith; which being granted him, and all his Danes received baptiſm, King Edmund ſtanding godfather at the font: after which both parties concluding a firm and a laſting peace, Edmund honourably returned to Weſt-Saxony. A. D. 939.

The ſame year died Abloic, chief King of Ireland: And the year following, Cadelh, the ſon of Arthual, a nobleman of Wales, was, for what reaſon not diſcovered, impriſoned by the Engliſh. To revenge which indignity, Edwal Foel and his brother Elis, gathered their forces together, and fought againſt the Engliſh and Danes, but were both unhappily ſlain.

This Edwal Foel had ſix ſons, Meyric, Ievaf, Iago, Conan, Edwal, Fychan, and Roderic: and his brother Elis had iſſue Conan, and a daughter, named Trawſt, the mother of Conan ap Sitſylht, Gruffydh ap Sitſylht, and Blethyn ap Confyn, which two laſt were afterwards Princes of Wales.

HOWEL DHA.

HOWEL DHA, had been for a conſiderable time Prince of South-Wales and Powis; in which government he had ſo juſtly and diſcreetly behaved himſelf, that upon the death of Edwal Foel, he was worthily 940.

preferred to the principality of Wales: Notwithſtanding that Edwal had left behind him ſeveral ſons, who at firſt ſeemed to murmur at and reſent the election of Howel Dha. The firſt thing he took care of, was to enact good and wholſom laws for the benefit of his country; which held in force in Wales, till the time of Edward the firſt, when the Welch received the laws of England, yet not ſo generally, but that in ſome places they continued long after, and are ſtill to be ſeen in the Welch and Latin tongue: For Howel Dha perceiving the laws and cuſtoms of his country to have grown to great abuſe, ſent for the Archbiſhop of Menevia, with the reſt of the biſhops and chief clergy, to the number of one hundred and forty, and all the barons and nobles of Wales, and ordered that ſix of the wiſeſt and beſt eſteemed perſons in every commote ſhould be cited before him, at his palace called y Ty Gwyn ar Taf, or the White Houſe upon the river Taf. Thither coming himſelf, he remained with his nobles, prelates, and ſubjects for all the Lent, in prayers and faſting, imploring the aſſiſtance and direction of God's holy Spirit, that he might reform the laws and cuſtoms of the country of Wales, to the honour of God, and the peaceable government of his ſubjects. Towards the end of Lent, he choſe out of that aſſembly twelve of the wiſeſt and graveſt, and perſons of the greateſt experience, to whom he added Blegored, a man of ſingular learning, and one exquiſitely verſed in the laws. To theſe he gave commiſſion to examine the antient laws and cuſtoms of Wales, and to collect out of them what was requiſite towards the government of the country; according to which charge they retained thoſe that were wholſom and profitable, expounded thoſe that were doubtful and ambiguous, and abrogated them that were ſuperfluous and hurtful: And ſo theſe laws were diſtinguiſhed into three ſorts; the firſt concerned the order and regulation of the king's houſhold and court; the ſecond, the affairs of the country and commonwealth; and the laſt had regard to ſpecial cuſtoms belonging to particular perſons and places. All which being publicly proclaimed

ed and generally allowed of, Prince Howel ordered three copies to be written; one for his own uſe, another to be laid up at his palace of Aberffraw, and the third at Dinefawr; ſo that the three provinces of Wales might have eaſy recourſe to either of them, when need required. And for the better obſervation of theſe laws, he cauſed the Archbiſhop of St. David's to denounce ſentence of excommunication againſt all ſuch of his ſubjects as would not obey the ſame.

Within a while after, Howel, to admit nothing that might procure any countenance or authority to theſe his laws, accompanied with Lambert, Archbiſhop of St. David's, Mordaf, Biſhop of Bangor, and Chebur of St. Aſaph, and thirteen of the moſt prudent and learned perſons in Wales, took a journey to Rome, where the ſaid laws being recited before the Pope, were by his holineſs ratified and confirmed: after which, Howel, with all his retinue, returned home to his country.

The particulars of theſe laws are too numerous to be here inſerted; only it is obſervable, that all matters of inheritance of land were determined and adjudged by the prince in perſon; or if ſick, by his ſpecial deputy. And that upon view of the ſame land, citing together the freeholders of that place, two elders of his council, the chief juſtice always attending in the court, the ordinary judge of the country where the land lay, and the prieſt. The method of their proceeding was in this manner:

The prince ſate in his judicial-ſeat above the reſt of the court, with an elder on each hand, next to whom the freeholders on both ſides, who upon that account were probably called UCHELWYR. Below the prince, at a certain diſtance, ſate the chief juſtice, having the prieſt on his right hand, and the ordinary judge of the country concerned upon the left. The court being thus ſate, the plaintiff with his advocate, champion and Rhingylh or ſergeant, ſtood on the left ſide of the court, as did the defendant in like manner on the right. And laſtly, the witneſſes on both ſides appeared, and ſtood at the lower end of the hall, directly

oppoſite to the chief juſtice, to teſtify the beſt of their knowledge in the matter in debate. After the taking the depoſitions of the witneſſes, and a full pleading of the cauſe in open court, upon notice given by the ſergeant, the chief juſtice, the prieſt, and the ordinary judge, withdrew themſelves for a while, to conſult of the matter; and then *ſecundum allegata & probata*, brought in their verdict. Whereupon the prince, after conſultation had with the elders that ſate next him, gave definitive ſentence; excepting the cauſe was ſo obſcure and intricate, that the juſtice of it could not appear; and then the two champions put an end to the controverſy by combat.

Whilſt Howel Dha is thus regulating the cuſtoms, and meliorating the laws and conſtitutions of Wales; Aulafe and Reginald, Kings of the Danes, forcibly entered the country of King Edmund, who being vexed with their inceſſant hoſtility, gathered his forces together, and (as ſome ſay) by the help of Lhewelyn ap Sitſylht, who was afterwards Prince of Wales, followed them to Northumberland; and having overcome them in a pitched battle, utterly chaſed them out of his kingdom, and remained a whole year in thoſe parts to regulate and bring that country to ſome quiet order. But finding it impracticable to reduce the inhabitants of Cumberland to any peaceable conſtitution, having ſpoiled and waſted the country, he gave it up to Malcolm king of Scotland, upon condition that he ſhould ſend him ſuccours in his wars whenever
A. D. 942. demanded of him. In the mean time the Welch had but little occaſion to rejoice; Hubert biſhop of St. David's, Marclois biſhop of Bangor, and Uſſa
941. the ſon of Lhafyr being dead: And ſhortly after the Engliſh entering into Wales with a very ſtrong army, put the country into a great conſternation; but being ſatisfied with the deſtruction and ſpoil of Strat Clwyd, they returned home without doing any more miſchief. The ſame time Conan the ſon of Elis was like to be treacherouſly put to death by poiſon; and Everus biſhop of St. David's died. The

next

next year Edmund King of England was unluckily ſlain upon St. Auguſtine's day; but the manner of his death is variouſly delivered; ſome ſay, that diſcovering a noted thief, who was out-lawed ſitting among his gueſts, being tranſported with indignation againſt ſo confident a villain, ran upon him very furiouſly, who expecting nothing leſs than death, thought to die not unrevenged, and therefore with a ſhort dagger gave the king a mortal wound in the breaſt. Others report, that as the King would have reſcued a ſervant of his from an officer who had arreſted him, he was unwittingly and unhappily ſlain by the ſame. But however his death happened, he lies buried at Glaſtenbury; in whoſe place his brother Edred was crowned King of England, who no ſooner had entered upon his government but he made an expedition againſt Scotland and Northumberland, which being ſubdued, he received fealty and homage by oath of the Scots and Northumbrians, which they did not long obſerve. Shortly after Howel Dha, after a long and peaceable reign over Wales, died, much lamented and bewailed of all his ſubjects, being a prince of a religious and a virtuous inclination, and one that ever regarded the welfare and proſperity of his people. He left iſſue behind him, Owen, Run, Roderic, and Edwyn, betwixt whom and the ſons of Edwal Foel, late Prince of North Wales, great wars and commotions aroſe afterwards about the chief rule and government of Wales. A. D. 948.

But the ſons of Howel Dha, as ſome writers record, were theſe, *viz.* Owen who did not long ſurvive his father, Eineon, Meredyth, Dyfnwal, and Rodri, the two laſt whereof, as is conceived, were ſlain in the battle fought near Lhanrwſt, in the year 952, by the ſons of Edwal Foel; Run lord of Cardigan, who was ſlain before the death of his father; Conan y Cwn, who poſſeſſed Angleſey; Edwin, who was alſo ſlain, as is ſuppoſed in the forementioned battle: There was alſo another battle fought betwixt Howel and Conan ap Edwal Foel for the Iſle of Angleſey, wherein Conan fell; and Gruffydh his ſon renewing the war, was likewiſe over-

overcome; and ſo Cyngar, a powerful perſon, being driven out of the iſland, Howel enjoyed quiet poſſeſſion thereof, and of the reſt of Gwynedh. It is ſuppoſed that this Howel Dha was choſen governor of Wales, during the minority of his uncle Anarawd's ſons, who, at the death of their father, were too young to manage the principality; which he kept till his return from Rome, at which time Edwal Foel being come of age, he reſigned to him the kingdom of Gwynedh or North Wales, together with the ſovereignty of all Wales: Before which time Howel is ſtyled Brenhin Cymry oll, that is, King of all Wales, as is ſeen in the preface to that body of laws compiled by him.

IEVAF and IAGO the SONS of EDWAL FOEL.

AFTER the death of Howel Dha, his ſons divided betwixt them the principalities of South Wales and Powis; laying no claim to North Wales, though their father had been a general Prince of all Wales. But Ievaf and Iago the ſons of Edwal Foel, having put by their elder brother Meyric, as a perſon uncapable of government, and being diſſatisfied with the rule of North Wales only, imagined that the principality of all Wales was their right, as deſcending from the elder houſe; which the ſons of Howel Dha denied them. Indeed, they had been wrongfully kept out of the government of North Wales during the reign of Howel; in whoſe time the recovery of their own was impracticable, by reaſon that for his moderation and other good qualities, he had attracted to himſelf the univerſal love of all the Welch. But now, he being gone, they are reſolved to revenge the injury received by him upon his ſons: and upon a

ſmall

ſmall pretence, endeavour to reduce the whole country of Wales to their own ſubjection. Ievaf and Iago were indeed deſcended from the elder branch; but ſince Roderic the Great conferred the principality of South Wales upon his younger ſon Cadelh, the father of Howel Dha, it was but juſt his ſons ſhould enjoy what was legally deſcended to them by their father: But ambition ſeldom gives place to equity; and therefore, right or wrong, Ievaf and Iago muſt have a touch for South Wales, which they enter with a great army; and being oppoſed, they obtained a very opportune victory over Owen and his brethren the ſons of Howel, at the hills of Carno. The next year A. D. 950. the two brothers entered twice into South Wales, deſtroyed and waſted Dyfet, and ſlew Dwnwalhon lord of the country. Shortly after which, Roderic the 951. third ſon of Howel Dha died. But his brethren per- 952. ceiving the folly of ſtanding only upon the defenſive, muſtered all their forces together, and entering North Wales, marched as far as Lhanrwſt upon the river Conwy; where Ievaf and Iago met them. A very cruel battle enſued upon this, and a very great number were ſlain on both ſides, among whom were Anarawd the ſon of Gwyriad, the ſon of Roderic the Great; and Edwyn the ſon of Howel Dha. But the victory plainly favoured the brothers Ievaf and Iago; ſo that the Princes of South Wales were obliged to retire to Cardiganſhire, whether they were warmly purſued; and that country cruelly harraſſed with fire and ſword. The next year Merfyn was unhappily 953. drowned; and ſhortly after Congelach King of Ireland was ſlain.

The Scots and Northumbrians having lately ſworn allegiance to King Edred, he was ſcarce returned to his own country, but Aulafe, with a great army, landed in Northumberland, and was with much rejoicing received by the inhabitants. But before he could ſecure himſelf in the government, he was ſhamefully baniſhed the country; and ſo the Northumbrians elected one Hircius, the ſon of Harold for their king. But to ſhew the inconſtancy of an unſettled multitude,

they ſoon grew weary of Hircius, and after three years ſpace expelled him, and voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves to Edred, who after he had reigned eight years, died, and was buried at Wincheſter. To him ſucceeded Edwin the ſon of Edmund, a man ſo immoderately given to venery, that he forcibly married another man's wife; for which, and other irregularities, his ſubjects, after four years reign, ſet up his brother Edgar, who was crowned in his ſtead; with
A. D. 958. grief of which, he ſoon ended his days. The ſummer, that ſame year, proved ſo immoderately hot, that it cauſed a very diſmal plague in the following ſpring, which ſwept away a great number of people; before which, Gwgan the ſon of Gwyriad the ſon of Roderic died. At this time, Ievaf and Iago forcibly managed the government of all Wales, and acted according to their own good pleaſure, no one daring to confront or reſiſt them. But for all their power, the ſons of Abloic King of Ireland, ventured to land in Angleſey; and having burnt Holyhead, waſted the country of Lhyn. Alſo the ſons of Edwyn the ſon of Colhoyn, deſtroyed and ravaged all the country to
961. Towyn, where they were intercepted and ſlain. About the ſame time died Meyric the ſon of Cadfan, Rytherch biſhop of St. David's, and Cadwalhon ap Owen. Not long after, the country of North Wales was cruelly
965. waſted by the army of Edgar King of England; the occaſion of which invaſion was the non-payment of the tribute that the king of Aberffraw, by the laws of Howel Dha, was obliged to pay to the King of London. But at length a peace was concluded upon theſe conditions, that the Prince of North Wales, inſtead of money, ſhould pay to the King of England the tribute of 300 wolves yearly; which creature was then very pernicious and deſtructive to England and Wales. This tribute being duly performed for two years, the third year there were none to be found in any part of the Iſland; ſo that afterwards the Prince of North Wales became exempt from paying any acknowledgment to the King of England.
966. The terror apprehended from the Engliſh, being by

theſe means vaniſhed; there threatened another cloud from Ireland; for the Iriſh being animated by their late expedition, landed again in Angleſey; and having ſlain Roderic the ſon of Edwal Foel, they deſtroyed Aberffraw. And this danger being over, Ievaf and A. D. 967.
Iago who had jointly and agreeably, till now, managed the government of Wales from the death of Howel Dha, began to quarrel and diſagree among themſelves; and Iago having forcibly laid hands upon his brother Ievaf, confined him to perpetual Impriſonment. 968.
Theſe heats and animoſities between the two brothers, gave occaſion and opportunity to Owen prince of South-Wales to carve for himſelf, who preſently ſeized to his hands the country of Gwyr. And to 969.
augment the miſeries of the Welch at this time, Mactus the ſon of Harold, with an army of Danes, entered the iſle of Angleſey, and ſpoiled Penmon. King Edgar was ſo indulgent to theſe Danes, that he permitted them to inhabit through all England; inſomuch that at length they became to be as numerous and as ſtrong as the Engliſh themſelves; and fell into ſuch lewd courſes of debauchery, and ſuch horrid drinking, that very great miſchief enſued thereupon. The king to reform this immoderate ſottiſhneſs, enacted a law, that every one ſhould drink by meaſurre, and ſo ſtamped a mark upon every veſſel, how far it ſhould be filled. But Harold having taken Penmon, 970.
made ſubject to himſelf the whole iſle of Angleſey, which however he did not keep long, being forced to quit the ſame, and to return home; as did the fleet of king Alfred, which he had ſent to ſubdue Caerlheon upon Uſe. And now being rid of the Engliſh and 971.
Danes, the Welch begin to raiſe commotions among themſelves. Ievaf continued ſtill in priſon, to reſcue 972.
whom, his ſon Howel raiſed his power, and marched againſt his uncle Iago, who being vanquiſhed in fight, was forced to quit the country, to ſave himſelf. Howel having won the day, took his eldeſt uncle, Meyric the ſon of Edwal priſoner, and pulled out both his eyes, clapt him in priſon, where in a woeful condition he ſhortly died, leaving behind him two ſons, Edwal and Ionafal;

Ionafal; the firſt of which lived to be afterwards prince of Wales, and to revenge upon the poſterity of Howel, that unnatural barbarity ſhewed to his father. But though Howel delivered his father from his long and tedious impriſonment, yet he did not think fit to reſtore him to his principality; for whether by age or infirmity he was incapable, Howel took upon him the ſole government of Wales, which he kept and maintained for his lifetime, but afterwards it deſcended to his brethren. For Ievaf had iſſue beſides this Howel; Meyric, Ievaf, and Cadwalhan; all three men of great repute and eſteem.

About this time died Morgan Hen, in his younger days called Morgan Mawr, being an hundred years old, having lived fifty years after the death of his wife Elen, daughter of Roderic the great, by whom he had one ſon called Owen. Morgan was a valiant and a victorious prince, and well beloved of his ſubjects; but ſometime before his death, Owen, the ſon of prince Howel Dha, laid claim to Yſtradwy and Ewy, (called the two Sleeves of Gwent Uwchcoed) being the right of Morgan, and ſeized upon them to his own uſe. But the matter, through the mediation of the clergy and nobility, being by both parties referred to the deciſion of Edgar king of England, it was by him adjudged, that the ſaid Lands did of right belong to Morgan, and to the dioceſs of Lhandaff; and that Owen ap Howel Dha had wrongfully poſſeſſed himſelf of them. The charter of the ſaid award was made before the archbiſhops, biſhops, earls, and barons of England and Wales; as may be ſeen at Lhandaff, in an old manuſcript called y Cwtta Cyfarwydd o Forgannwg. And there is ſomewhat to the ſame purpoſe in the old book of Lhandaff; only the miſtake in both is, that they make Howel Dha the intruder into the ſaid lands, who had been dead at leaſt twenty years before king Edgar began his reign.

HOWEL AP IEVAF.

HOWEL, after that he had expelled his uncle Iago, and forced him to quit his own dominions, took upon himſelf the government of Wales, in right of his father, who though alive, yet by reaſon of his years, was willing to decline it. About the ſame time Dwnwalhon Prince of Stradclwyd, took his journey for Rome; and Edwalhon ſon of Owen Prince of South Wales died. But the Engliſh received a greater blow by the death of King Edgar, who was a prince of excellent qualities, both warlike and religious, and one that founded ſeveral monaſteries and religious houſes, and particularly at Bangor.

For Iago ap Edwal having fled to King Edgar, prevailed ſo far with him, that he brought an army into North Wales to reſtore him to his right. Being advanced as far as Bangor, he was honourably received by Howel, who, at his requeſt, was contented his uncle Iago ſhould have a ſhare in the government, as he had in his father Ievaf's time. Then Edgar founded a new church at Bangor, on the ſouth-ſide of the Cathedral, which he dedicated to the bleſſed Virgin Mary; and confirmed the ancient liberties of that ſee, and beſtowed lands and gifts upon it: And then with Howel and Iago in his company, he marched towards Cheſter, where met him, by appointment, ſix kings more, *viz.* Kenneth King of the Scots, Malcolm King of Cumberland, Macon King of Man, and Dyfnwal, Sifrethus, and Ithel, three Britiſh kings. Theſe eight princes having done homage, and ſworn fealty to him, entered with him into his barge, and rowed him, four of each ſide, from his palace to the church or monaſtery of St. John Baptiſt, and divine ſervice being ended, in like ſtate rowed him back again. To King Edgar ſucceeded his ſon Edward, ſurnamed the younger;

younger; who, after four years reign, was treacherouſly ſlain through the treaſon of his ſtep-mother Elfrida, to make room for her own ſon Edelred, upon pretence of whoſe minority, being a child only of ſeven years, ſhe might have the management of the
A. D. 976. kingdom in her own hands. But whilſt the Engliſh were in this waving and unſettled condition, Eineon, the ſon of Owen king of South Wales, the ſecond time entered the country of Gwyr, and having ſpoiled and waſted it, returned home again. This, though an unſufferable affront to Howel Prince of North Wales, yet he thought it moſt convenient to paſs by and wink at it; being then warmly engaged againſt the aiders and abettors of his uncle Iago; and marching againſt them with a numerous army, conſiſting of Welch and Engliſh, purſued them to Lhyyn and Kelynnoc Fawr, the very extremity of Wales; where, after cruel ravaging and miſerable harraſſing of the country about, Iago was at laſt taken priſoner; but ſo generouſly received by Howel, that he granted his uncle to enjoy his portion of the country peaceably for his life. But he did not deal ſo kindly with his uncle Edwal Fychan
979 the ſon of Edwal Foel; who, for what pretence, not diſcovered, was ſlain by him. It may be, that being in a manner ſecure of his uncle Iago, he was apprehenſive that Edwal Fychan would put in his pretence for the principality; and therefore he judged it convenient to remove this obſtacle in time, and to ſend him to ſeek for it in another world. For nothing can be the cauſe of greater injuſtice and inhumanity in princes, than the jealouſy and apprehenſion of rivals and pretenders to their government; to prevent which, they will ſacrifice any thing that is juſt and legal, ſo that the perſon offending be removed out of the way. But though Howel had murdered his uncle Edwal Fychan, yet he could not remove all diſputes and pretences to North Wales: For at that ſame time that he was employed in this unnatural action, Cyſtenyn Dhu, or Conſtantine the Black, ſon to Iago then priſoner to Howel, having hired an army of Danes, under the command of Godfryd the ſon of Harold, marched againſt

againſt his couſin Howel, and entering North Wales, deſtroyed Angleſey and Lhyn. Whereupon Howel having drawn his forces together, ſet upon them at a place called Gwyath Hirbarth, where the Danes received a very ſhameful overthrow, and Conſtantine the ſon of Iago was ſlain. But another army of Danes fared better in England, who having landed at, and ſpoiled Southampton, over-ran the countries of Devon and Cornwal, burnt the town of Bodman, whereby the cathedral church of St. Petrokes, with the biſhop's palace, were laid in aſhes; by reaſon of which diſaſter, that biſhop's ſee was tranſlated to St. Germains, where it continued till the uniting thereof to Crediton. Within a while after, St. Dunſtan archbiſhop of Canterbury died, a pious and religious perſon, who foretold of very great and unſupportable calamities, the Engliſh ſhould endure by the cruel outrages of the Danes.

But Godfryd the ſon of Harold being highly diſguſted at the ſhameful rout he received of Howel in the quarrel of Conſtantine, was reſolved to recover his credit, and to revenge himſelf of the Welch. And accordingly he landed with a powerful army in Weſt Wales, where, after that he had ſpoiled the land of Dyfed, with the church of St. David's, he fought the famous battle of Lhanwanoc. But Harold being forced upon this to retire and forſake the country, the following year Duke Alfred with a conſiderable number of Engliſh came to ſupply his room, and to conquer the Welch. But he received as little advantage or honour as Harold in this expedition; for after that he had laid waſte and deſtroyed the town of Brecnock, with ſome part of South Wales, he was ſhamefully vanquiſhed, and his army almoſt totally cut off by the troops of Eineon the ſon of Owen Prince of South Wales, and Howel Prince of North Wales, who had joined their forces againſt him. And now the Welch having quite diſabled the Danes and the Engliſh, began to fall to their old courſes, to make uſe of their proſperity and quietneſs from abroad, for quarrelling and creating diſturbances at home. The inhabitants

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of

of Gwentland imagined themſelves very ſtrong and powerful, and therefore muſt needs endeavour to ſhake off their allegiance to their prince, and to ſet up one of their own making. Owen Prince of South Wales, to pacify the rebellious humour of theſe ſeditious and turbulent people, ſent his ſon Eineon to perſuade them to obedience. But a diſtracted multitude got looſe, is not to be worked upon by arguments, which Eineon fatally experienced, who was ſo far from perſuading them in their allegiance by fair means, that they preſently ſet upon him, and thinking that they had the bird in their fiſt, who was next to ſucceed, put him to preſent death. And thus moſt ignobly fell this worthy prince, who, in his father's time was the only ſupport of his country, being a ſtout and a valiant commander, and one famouſly experienced in the art and diſcipline of war. He had iſſue two ſons, Edwyn and Tewdor Mawr, or Theodore the Great, out of whoſe loins ſeveral Princes of South Wales were ſince de-
984. ſcended. But Howel prince of North Wales did not regard this diſſention and rebellion in South Wales, and therefore took opportunity to ſtrengthen and multiply his army, with which he marched the next year for England, intending to revenge the incurſions and invaſions of the Engliſh upon Wales, and to deſtroy and waſte their country. But having entered into England, he was preſently fought with, upon which, being reſolved either to return victoriouſly, or to die couragiouſly, he fell in among them, but in the action was ſlain, leaving no iſſue behind him to ſucceed in his principality, though in ſome ancient genealogies he is reputed to have a ſon called Conan y Cwn.

CADWALHON.

CADWALHON AP IEVAF.

HOWEL, the ſon of Ievaf, had for a long time enjoyed the principality of North-Wales, more by main force and uſurpation, than any right of ſucceſſion he could pretend to it. For Ionafal and Edwal the ſons of Meyric, the eldeſt ſon of Edwal Foel, were living, and tho' their father had been rejected as unfit for government, yet that was no reaſon to deprive them of their right. Indeed, Howel could pretend to no other right or title, than that his father Ievaf had been prince of North-Wales before him, and this he thought ſufficient to maintain his poſſeſſion againſt the rightful heir, who was far unable to oppoſe or moleſt his wrongful uſurpation. But he being ſlain in this raſh expedition againſt the Engliſh, and leaving no iſſue to ſucceed him in the crown, his brother Cadwalhon thought he might rightfully take upon him the government of North-Wales, ſeeing his father and his brother had without any moleſtation enjoyed the ſame. However, to make his title ſecure, he thought fit to remove all manner of rubs which might create any diſpute concerning his right of ſucceſſion, and to that end, concluded it neceſſary to make away his couſins Ionafal and Edwal the lawful heirs; the firſt of which he executed accordingly, but Edwal being aware of his intention, privately made his eſcape, and ſo prevented his wicked deſign. This unnatural dealing with his couſins Ionafal and Edwal coſt Cadwalhon not only his life, but the loſs of his principality and the utter ruin of his father's houſe. For he had ſcarce enjoyed his government one year, but Meredith the ſon of Owen prince of South-Wales entered into North-Wales, ſlew Cadwalhon and his brother Meyric, the only remains of the houſe of Ievaf, and under the 985.

pretence

pretence of conqueſt, poſſeſſed himſelf of the whole country. Here we may obſerve and admire the wiſdom of providence, in permitting wrong and oppreſſion for ſome time to flouriſh and wax great, and afterwards by ſecret and hidden methods, in reſtoring the poſterity of the right and lawful heir to the juſt and priſtine eſtate of his anceſtors. For after the death of Edwal Foel, Meyric who by right of birth was legally to ſucceed, was not only deprived of his juſt and rightful inheritance, but had his eyes moſt inhumanly put out, and being condemned to perpetual impriſonment, for grief of being ſo barbarouſly treated, quickly ended his days. But tho' his brothers Ievaf and Iago, and Howel and Cadwalhon the ſons of the former ſucceſſively enjoyed the principality of North-Wales; yet not one died naturally or free from the revenge of Meyric's ejection. For Ievaf was impriſoned by his brother Iago, and he with his ſon Conſtantine, by Howel the ſon of Ievaf, and afterwards Howel fell by the hands of the Engliſh, and his brethren Cadwalhon and Meyric were both ſlain by Meredith ap Owen. On the other ſide, Edwal ab Meyric who was right heir of North-Wales after the death of his brother Ionafal, eſcaped the ſnare intended by Cadwalhon; and Meredith ap Owen after ſome time leaving North Wales expoſed to the enemies, by reaſon he had enough to do to preſerve South-Wales, Edwal was received of the North-Wales men as their true prince.

MEREDITH AP OWEN.

986. MEREDITH having won the field and ſlain Cadwalhon and his brother Meyric, the only ſeeming pretenders to the principality of North-Wales, took upon himſelf the rule and government of it. But before he could be well confirmed in his dominions, Godfryd the

the ſon of Harold, third time entered into the iſle of Angleſey, and having taken Lhyarch the ſon of Owen with 2000 men priſoners, moſt cruelly put out his eyes; which ſo ſtartled and ſtruck ſuch a terror into Prince Meredith, that with the reſt of his army, he forthwith made his eſcape and fled to Cardigan. This loſs to the Welch was the ſame year ſeconded by another, but of another ſort; for there happened ſuch a diſmal and unuſual murrain, that the beſt part of the cattle of Wales periſhed. Neither were the Engliſh at this time free from adverſities and troubles, for the Danes landed again in England with ſeveral armies, and at Weſtport and Witeſt, gave two Engliſh lords, Godan and Britchwould ſuch a blow, that the king was forced to buy his peace, with the payment of 10,000 pound, which was termed, Dane Gelt. But within a while after, King Edelred violated and brake the peace himſelf, and prepared a great fleet, thinking to vanquiſh the Danes at ſea; But it proved far otherwiſe, and much contrary to his expectation, all his ſhips being either deſtroyed or taken, together with the Admiral, Alfric earl of Mercia. The Danes being animated with this victory ſailed up to the mouth of the Humber, and landing in Yorkſhire, ſpoiled and deſtroyed the cities of York and Lindſey; but in their march through Northumberland, were routed and put to flight by Godwyn and Fridgiſt, two Engliſh generals who were ſent to oppoſe them. The ſame time Anlaf king of Norway, and Swane of Denmark with 94 gallies ſailed up the Thames and beſieged London, which the citizens ſo bravely defended, that at length the Danes thought beſt to raiſe and quit the ſiege. But though they could effect nothing upon the city, yet the country was at their mercy and therefore leaving their ſhips, they landed and waſted with fire and ſword all Kent, Eſſex, Suſſex, Surry and Hampſhire Wherefore King Edelred inſtead of manly oppoſition in the field, ſends ambaſſadors to treat about another payment, and ſo the Danes being ſatisfied with a great ſum of money and victuals, lay quiet that winter at South-

ampton. Upon this compoſition, Anlaf was invited by Adelred, and royally entertained, and being diſmiſſed with very many rich preſents, he promiſed upon oath to depart the kingdom and never to moleſt it any more, which he faithfully performed.

987. Whilſt the Engliſh and the Danes were thus for a time agreed, Ievaf the ſon of Edwal having ſpent for ſeveral years a retired and a private life, died: And was quickly followed by Owen the ſon of Howel Dha Prince of South Wales. This Owen had three ſons, Eineon who in his father's time was ſlain by the rebels of Gwentland, and Lhywarch who had his eyes put out by Godfryd the ſon of Harold the Dane, and Prince Meredith, who had already conquered North Wales, and now upon his father's death takes poſſeſſion alſo of South Wales, without any regard had to Edwyn and Theodore the ſons of Eineon his elder brother. But upon his advancement to his new principality, he was like to meet with no very ſmall troubles; for the Danes at Hampton quickly broke the league with king Adelred, and ſailing towards the Weſt mighrily annoyed the coaſts of Cornwal and Devonſhire, and at laſt landed in South Wales. Having deſtroyed St. David's, Lhanbadarn, Lhanrhyſtyd, Lhandydoch, and ſeveral other religious places; the country was ſo cruelly haraſſed and weakened that Prince Meredith was forced to compound with them,

988. and to pay a tribute of one penny for every perſon within his dominions, which in Welch was called Glwmaem, otherwiſe, the tribute of the black army. And Ireland too at this time received no inconſiderable blow from the Danes, who ſlew Elwmaen the ſon of Abloic king of the country, and ſo ſpoiled and ravaged that kingdom, that a great number of the natives periſhed by famine.

The year following Owen the ſon of Dyfnwal, a man

989. of conſiderable note and reputation among the Welch, was ſlain; beſides which, nothing remarkable happened this year. But the next year Edwin ap Eineon, who was right heir to the principality of South Wales, having

ving drawn to his help a great army of Engliſh and Danes hoſtibly entered into Meredith's country, ſpoiled all the land of Cardigan, Dyfed, Gwyr, Kydwely and St. David's, and received hoſtages of the chief perſons of thoſe countries to own him as their rightful prince. To return theſe outrages upon Edwyn, Meredith deſtroyed the town of Radnor, ſpoiled Glamorgan, and carried the chiefeſt men therein priſoners, who paying their ranſom, were ſet at liberty. But whilſt Wales was in this tottering condition, and ſcarce any place free from hoſtility; it happily fell out, that Meredith and Edwyn were made friends, and the differences compoſed between them, ſo that the Engliſh and Danes who came in with Edwyn, and who expected to fare beſt by theſe civil diſturbances of the Welch, were unexpectedly caſhiered and ſent home. And ſoon after this agreement, Cadwalhon, the only ſon of Meredith, died, which rendered the compoſition between Meredith and Edwyn more firm, by reaſon that this latter thought now, without any diſpute to ſucceed Meredith in his principality. But this fell ſhort of his aim, for Meredith being very much diſturbed in South Wales, had ſo much work upon his hands to defend that country, that he left North Wales open and expoſed to the common enemy, which the Danes were quickly acquainted with, and ſo landing in Angleſey, they ravaged and laid waſte the whole iſland. The North Wales men finding themſelves thus forſaken by Meredith, and their country like to be over-run by the Danes, if not timely prevented, ſet up Edwal the ſon of Meyric, the indiſputable heir of North Wales, though long kept from it, and owned him for their prince. But thoſe inceſſant wars and commotions in South Wales, occaſioned a very diſmal famine and ſcarcity in the country, of which a very conſiderable number of people periſhed. And thus Meredith who had once conquered North Wales, and for a long time had got poſſeſſion of South Wales, without any right or title to either, was now obliged to relinquiſh the one, and was ſcarce able to maintain the other.

990. 991. 992.

EDWAL AP MEYRIC.

993. EDWAL after a long and tedious expectation, being now joyfully received by the North Wales men for their prince, endeavoured the firſt thing to defend his ſubjects from the injuries and depredations they received from the Danes. And having in a meaſure effected that, he was accoſted by another enemy; for Meredith being reſolved to revenge the indignity and diſgrace put upon him by the North Wales men, in depriving him of the government of their country, gathered and muſtered together all his power, intending to recover again that principality. Being advanced as far as Lhangwm, Edwal met him, and in plain battle routed his army; in which action, Theodore or Tewdor Mawr, Meredith's nephew was ſlain, leaving behind him two ſons, Rhys and Rytherch, and a daughter named Elen. But it is probable that it was not Tewdor Mawr, but his brother Edwyn that was ſlain in this battle, which alſo ſeems rather to have been fought at Hengwm in Ardudwy in Merionethſhire, then at Lhangwm, for in that place there are to this day certain monuments of victory to be ſeen; as heaps of ſtones, tomb-ſtones and columns, which they call Curneddi Hengwm. Edwal returning home triumphantly after this victory, thought he had now ſecured himſelf in his government, and expected to enjoy his dominions quietly, and without any moleſtation. But he had ſcarce recovered the fatigue of the laſt engagement, when Swane the ſon of Harold having lately pillaged and waſted the iſle of Man, landed in North Wales, whom Edwal endeavouring to oppoſe, was ſlain in the encounter leaving one ſon behind him, called Iago.

Within

Within a while after the Danes returned again againſt St. David's, and deſtroying all before them with fire and ſword, ſlew Morgeney or Urgeney, biſhop of that dioceſe. Prince Meredith being highly concerned at the miſchiefs theſe barbarous people continually did to his country, and the more, becauſe he was not able to repel their inſolencies, out of grief and vexation died; having iſſue one only daughter named Angharad, who was twice married; firſt to Lhewelyn ap Sitſyhlt, and after his death to Confyn Hirdref, or as others think, to Confyn ap Gweryſtan. She had children by both huſbands, which occaſioned afterwards great diſturbances and civil commotions in Wales, the iſſue of both adventures pretending a right of ſucceſſion to the principality of South Wales.

AEDAN AP BLEGORAD.

EDWAL Prince of North Wales being killed in the battle againſt Swane, and having no other iſſue than Iago, who was a minor, and too young to take upon him the government; and Meredith Prince of South Wales dying without any other iſſue than a daughter, cauſed very heavy quarrels and contentions among the Welch, ſeveral without any colour of right, putting in their claim and pretenſions to the government. In North Wales, Conan the ſon of Howel, and Aedan the ſon of Blegorad were the chief aſpirers to that principality; and becauſe they could not agree who ſhould be the man, they fairly conſented to try the matter in open field, where Conan had the misfortune to be ſlain; and ſo Aedan was victoriouſly proclaimed Prince of North Wales. But who this Aedan was deſcended from, or what co- 1003.

lour or pretence he could lay to the principality, cannot be as much as gueſſed at, there being none of that name to be met with in any Welch records, excepting that Blegorad who is mentioned in the line of Howel Dha, whoſe eſtate and quality was too mean, that his poſterity ſhould lay any claim to the principality of of Wales. But be that how it will, Aedan after his victory over Conan ap Howel, was owned Prince by the North Wales men, over whom he bore rule for the ſpace of twelve years; though beſides his conqueſt of Conan ap Howel, there being nothing recorded of him, excepting his being ſlain, together with his four ſons by Lhewelyn ap Sitſyllht.

But whilſt the Welch are in this inconſtant and unſettled condition, the Scots in Ireland began to grow powerful, and having deſtroyed the town and country of Develyn, they took Gulfath and Ubiad, two Iriſh lords, priſoners, whoſe eyes they moſt inhumanly put out. The Danes alſo, who had lately made their incurſions into South Wales, began now to moleſt the Engliſh; having landed in the Weſt, paſſed through the counties of Somerſet, Dorſet, Hampſhire and Suſſex, deſtroying and burning all before them. Having advanced without any oppoſition, as far as the river Medway, they laid ſiege to Rocheſter, which the Kentiſh men endeavouring to preſerve, aſſembled themſelves together, and gave the Danes battle, but were vanquiſhed in the undertaking. King Edelred was then in Cumberland, where the Danes were more numerouſly planted, which country he kept quiet and in ſubjection. But in the mean time another army of Danes landed in the Weſt, againſt whom the country people of Somerſetſhire aſſembling themſelves, ſhewed their readineſs to attack them, but wanting a head to direct them, were eaſily put to their heels, and the Danes ruled and commanded the country at their pleaſure. The King being ſorely vexed at the inſolencies and reſtleſs depredations of the Danes, thought convenient to ſtrengthen himſelf by ſome powerful affinity, and to that end, ſends ambaſſadors to Richard duke of Normandy, deſiring his daughter Emma in marriage,

marriage, and ſuccours to repel the Daniſh incurſions. Here it is obſervable, that as the Saxons being formerly called over as friends and allies to the well-meaning Britains, violently and wrongfully poſſeſſed themſelves of the greateſt part of the iſland; ſo now the Normans being invited to aid the Engliſh againſt the Danes, took ſo good a liking to the country, that they never gave over their deſign of gaining it, till at laſt they became conquerors of the whole iſland. The miſchief of calling in the Normans, though foretold to King Adelred, he was ſo far concerned about the preſent calamities received by the Danes, that he was deaf to all futurities, how dangerous and miſchievous ſoever they might prove. And therefore being puffed up with hopes of increaſe of ſtrength by this new affinity, he ſent private letters to all cities and towns throughout his dominions where the Danes were quartered, requiring them all upon St. Brice's night to maſſacre the Danes, which was accordingly performed with much unanimity and ſecrecy. This cruel diſaſter was ſo far from diſcouraging the Danes, that they now began to vow the eradication of the Engliſh nation, and to revenge that unmanly maſſacre of their country-men; to which end they landed in Devonſhire, and over-running the country with fire and ſword, ſpared nothing that had the leaſt ſpark of life in it. The city of Exeter they razed to the ground, and ſlew Hugh the Norman, whom the Queen had recommended to the government of it. To prevent their further incurſions, Almarus Earl of Devon gathered a great army out of Hampſhire and Wiltſhire, and the country thereabouts, and marched with a reſolution ſtoutly to oppoſe the Danes, who put Almarus to flight and purſued him to Wilton and Saliſbury, which being ranſacked and plundered, they carried the pillage thereof triumphantly to their ſhips.

A. D. 1004. The next year Swane, a prince of great repute in Denmark, landed upon the coaſt of Norfolk and laid ſiege to Norwich, and waſted the country thereabouts. But Wolfkettel duke of that country, being too weak to oppoſe him, thought it moſt convenient to make a peace with the Dane; which was quickly broke; and then Swane marched privately to Thetford, which after he had ſpoiled and ranſacked, he returned with his prey to his ſhips. Wolfkettel hearing this, privately drew up his forces, and ſtoutly marched againſt the enemy; but being far inferior in number, the Danes got the day, and afterwards ſailed to their own country. Within two years after, the Danes returned again, bringing with them their uſual companions, the fire, the ſword, and the ſpoil, and landed at Sandwich; which after they had burnt and pillaged, they ſailed to the iſle of Wight, where they took up their winter-quarters till Chriſtmas: And then coming forth thence, they over-ran, by ſeveral parties the countries of Hampſhire and Berkſhire, as far as Reading, Wallingford and Colſey; devouring up, for want of other plunder, all the proviſions and victuals they found in the houſes, and retributed the ſame with fire and ſword at their departure. In their return they met with the army of the Weſt Saxons near Eſſington, but this conſiſting only of a raw and unexperienced rabble, they eaſily broke through, and paſſing triumphantly by the gates of Wincheſter, they got ſafe with great booty to the iſle of Wight. King Adelred all this while lay at his manor-houſe in Shropſhire, much troubled and concerned at theſe uninterrupted devaſtations of the Danes. But the nobility of England, rather to ſave ſome than loſe all they poſſeſſed, bought their peace of the Danes for the ſum of 30,000 pound; during which interval, King Adelred rouſing his drooping ſpirits, ordained, that every three hundred hides of land, one hide being as much as one plough can ſufficiently till, through his dominions, ſhould man out a ſhip, and every eight hides a corſlet and a helmet; beſides which the king had no inconſiderable navy ſent him from Normandy. This

fleet

fleet when rendezvouſed at Sandwich ſeemed terrible in thoſe days, and was the greateſt that ever before then rode upon the Britiſh ſea. And now, one might have thought, that all things would go well with the Engliſh, when of a ſudden another cloud appears; for one Wilnot, a nobleman of Suſſex, being baniſhed by King Adelred, got to ſea with a ſmall number of ſhips, and practiſed pyracy along the coaſts of Britain, and mightily annoyed all merchants and paſſengers. Brightrych, brother to the traiterous Edric Earl of Mercia, thinking to advance his reputation by ſome ſignal exploit, promiſed to bring Wilnot dead or alive before him: To which end, he ſets forth with a conſiderable fleet; which meeting with a terrible ſtorm, was by the tempeſt driven back, and wrecked upon the ſhores; ſo that a great number of the ſhips were drowned, and the reſt burnt by Wilnot and his company. Brightrych being abaſhed with this unfortunate beginning, returned inglorioufly by the Thames back to London; ſo that this great preparation againſt the Danes, was daſhed to pieces, and came to nothing. A. D. 1008.

The Danes were not ignorant of the misfortune the Engliſh received by this ſtorm, and without any further enquiry, landed at Sandwich, and ſo paſſed on to Canterbury, which they intending to deſtroy, was by the citizens bought off for 3000 l. Paſſing from thence, through Kent, Suſſex and Hampſhire, they came to Berkſhire, where King Edelred at length met with them, and purpoſing reſolutely to ſet upon them, was by the cunning inſinuations and ſubtile arguments of traytor Edric diſſuaded from fighting. The Danes being thus delivered from the danger which they certainly expected, paſſed on joyfully by the city of London, and with great booty returned to their ſhips. The next year they landed again at Ipſwich, upon Aſcenſion day, where Wolfkettel entertained them with a ſharp encounter; but being overpowered by number, he was forced to give back, and yield the day to the Danes. Paſſing from thence to Cambridge, they met with Ethelſtan, King Edelred's nephew by his ſiſter, 1009.

ſiſter, who with an army was come to oppoſe them; but the Danes proving too powerful, he with many other noblemen were ſlain; among whom were duke Oſwyn and the Earls Edwyn and Wolfrike. From hence they paſſed through Eſſex, leaving no manner of cruelty and barbarity unpractiſed, and returned laden with booty to their ſhips, which lay in the Thames.

A. D. 1010. But they could not contain themſelves long in their veſſels; and therefore ſallying out, they paſſed by the river ſide to Oxford, which they ranſacked over again; adding to their prey, Buckingham, Bedford, Hartford, and Northamptonſhire; and having accompliſhed that year's cruelties, at Chriſtmas they returned to their ſhips. Yet the prey of the country from the Trent ſouthward, would not ſatisfy theſe unmerciful barba-

1011. rians; but as ſoon as the ſeaſon gave them leave to peep out of their dens, they laid ſiege to the city of Canterbury, which being delivered up by the treachery of Almarez the archdeacon, was condemned to blood and aſhes, and Alfege the archbiſhop carried priſoner to the Daniſh fleet, where he was at length

1012. moſt cruelly put to death. The next year Swane, king of Denmark, came up the Humber, and landed at Gaineſborow; whether repaired to him Uthred Earl of Northumberland, with his people, the inhabitants of Lindſey, with all the countries northward of Watling-ſtreet, being a highway croſſing from the eaſt to the weſt ſea, and gave their oath and hoſtages to obey him. Whereupon, King Swane perceiving his undertaking to prove ſo fortunate beyond expectation, committed the care of his fleet to his ſon Cnute, and marched himſelf firſt to Oxford, and then to Wincheſter; which cities, whether for fear of further calamities, readily acknowledged him for their king. From thence he marched for London, where King Edelred then lay; and which was ſo ſtoutly defended by the citizens, that he was like to effect nothing againſt that town; and therefore he directed his courſe to Wallingford and Bath, where the principal men of Weſt Saxon yielded him ſubjection. The Londoners too, at laſt fearing his

fury

fury and diſpleaſure, made their peace, and ſent him hoſtages; which city being received to mercy, Swane, from that time was accounted king of all England. King Edelred perceiving all his affairs in England to go againſt him, and his authority and government reduced to ſo narrow a compaſs, having ſent his queen, with his two ſons Edward and Alfred, to Normandy, he thought convenient within a while after to follow himſelf. Being honourably received by his brother-in-law Richard; he had not been there long but news arrived of the death of Swane, and that he was deſired by the Engliſh to return to his kingdom. Being animated and comforted with this ſurpriſing news, he ſet forward with a great army for England, and landing at Lyndſey, he cruelly harraſſed that province, by reaſon that it had owned ſubjection to Cnute the ſon of Swane, whom the Danes had elected king in his father's ſtead. King Cnute being at Ipſwich, and certified of the arrival of King Edelred, and the devaſtation of Lyndſey; fearing that his authority was going down the wind, barbarouſly cut off the hands and noſes of all the hoſtages he received from the Engliſh, and preſently ſtruck ſail for Denmark. And whilſt England was in this general confuſion, there fell out no leſs a ſtorm in Ireland; for Brian king of that iſland, and his ſon Murcath, with other kings of the country ſubject to Brian, joined their forees againſt Sutric the ſon of Abloic king of of Dublin, and Mailmorda king of Lagenes. Sutric being of himſelf too weak to encounter ſo numerous a multitude, hired all the pyrates and rovers who cruiſed upon the ſeas, and then gave Brian battle, who, with his ſon Murcath, was ſlain; and on the other ſide, Mailmorda, and Broderic General of the auxiliaries.

But Cnute, though he was in a manner forced to forſake England upon the recalling of King Edelred, yet he did not abandon all his pretence to the kingdom; and therefore the next year he came to renew his claim, and landed with a ſtrong fleet in Weſt Sex, where he exerciſed very great hoſtility. To A. D. 1013.

prevent

prevent his incurſions, Edric and Edmund baſtard-ſon to Edelred, raiſed their forces ſeparately; but when both armies were united, they durſt not, whether for fear, or the diſſention of the two generals, fight with the Danes. Edmund therefore paſſed to the North, and joined with Uthred duke of Northumberland, and both together deſcended and ſpoiled Stafford, Leiceſter, and Shropſhire. On the other ſide, Cnute marched forcibly through Buckingham, Bedford, Huntingtonſhire, and ſo by Stafford paſſed toward York, whither Uthred haſtened, and finding no other remedy, ſubmitted himſelf, with all the Northumbrians, to Cnute, giving hoſtages for the performance of what they then agreed upon. But nevertheleſs this ſubmiſſion, Uthred was treacherouſly ſlain, not without the permiſſion of Cnute, and his dukedom beſtowed upon one Egrick a Dane; whereupon Edmund left them, and went to his father, who lay ſick at London. Cnute returning to his ſhips preſently followed, and ſailed up the Thames towards London; but before he could draw nigh the city, King Edelred was dead; having prolonged a long and troubleſome reign for thirty-ſeven years. After his deceaſe, the Engliſh nobility choſe his baſe ſon Edmund, for his eminent ſtrength and hardineſs in war, ſurnamed Ironſide, for their king. Upon this Cnute brought his whole fleet up the river to London, and having cut a deep trench round about the town, inveſted it on all ſides; but being valourouſly repulſed by the defendants, he detached the beſt part of his army to fight with Edmund, who was marching to raiſe the ſiege; and both armies coming to battle at Proman by Gillingham, Cnute with his Danes were put to flight. But as ſoon as time and opportunity would give him leave to increaſe his forces, Cnute gave Edmund a ſecond battle at Caerſtane; but Edric, Almar, and Algar under hand ſiding with the Danes, Edmund was hard put to it, to maintain the fight obſtinately, till night and wearineſs parted them. Both armies having ſufficiently ſuffered in this action, Edmund went to Weſt Sex to reinforce himſelf, and the

Danes

Danes returned to the ſiege of London, where Edmund quickly followed, raiſed the ſiege, and forced Cnute and his Danes confuſedly to betake themſelves to their ſhips, and then entered triumphantly into the city. Two days after, paſſing the Thames at Brentford, he fell upon the enemies backs; by which lucky opportunity obtaining a conſiderable victory, he returned again to raiſe recruits among the Weſt-Saxons. Cnute, upon Edmund's removal, appeared again before London, and inveſted it by land and water; but all in vain; the beſieged ſo manfully and reſolutely defending themſelves, that it was impracticable to maſter the town before Edmund could come to the relief of it. And this they preſently experienced; for Edmund, after having augmented his forces, croſſed again the Thames at Brentford, and came to Kent in purſuit of Cnute, who upon engaging, was ſo ſhamefully defeated at firſt, and his men put to that terrible flight, that there wanted nothing of a full and abſolute victory, but the true loyalty of the traytor Edric, who perceiving the victory to incline to Edmund, and the Danes like to receive their mortal and final blow, cryed aloud, Fled Engle, Fled Engle, Edmund is dead, and thereupon fled with that part of the army under his command, leaving the king over-powered with number. By this deſertion the Engliſh were at the laſt overthrown, and a great number ſlain; among whom were Duke Edmund, Duke Alfric, Duke Godwyn, and Ulfkettel, the valiant Duke of the Eaſt-Angles, together with all the Engliſh cavalry, and a great part of the nobility. After this victory, Cnute marched triumphantly to London, and was crowned king; but Edmund preparing to try his fortune in another field, muſtered together all the forces he could, and meeting with Cnute in Glouceſterſhire, intended to give him battle: but conſidering what cruel and unnatural bloodſhed had already happened, both generally agreed to put an end to their tedious quarrel by ſingle combat; and the place being appointed, Edmund and Cnute fell to it very vigouroufly, till at laſtCnute perceiving it impracticable to vanquiſh a man of Iron-

ſides,

ſides, laid down his weapon, moving this compoſition, to divide the kingdom fairly betwixt them: Edmund was not diſpleaſed at the offer, and therefore both parties ſubmitted to this deciſion, that Edmund ſhould rule the Weſt-Saxons and the South; Cnute in Mercia and all the North; and ſo they parted friends, Cnute, moving to London, and Edmund to Oxford. But Edric was not pleaſed, that Edmund ſhould have any ſhare at all of the government, and therefore he is reſolved to conſpire againſt his life, and to deliver the whole kingdom of England into the hands of Cnute; of whom he might reaſonably expect for this, and other traiterous ſervices, a very ample and an anſwerable return. This he committed to one of his own ſons to put in execution, an imp of the old ſtock, and one early verſed in wicked and traiterous deſigns; who perceiving the king go to ſtool, thurſt a ſharp knife up his fundament, of which wound he preſently died. Edric being quickly certified of the fact, poſted it up to London, and with great joy and loud acclamations came to Cnute, greeting him as ſole king of England, and withal, telling him in what manner, and by whoſe means his old enemy King Edmund was aſſaſſinated and killed at Oxford. Cnute, though pleaſed at the death of Edmund, was a perſon of greater honour than to commend ſo horrible a deed, though done to an enemy, and therefore told Edric, that he would without fail take care to reward him, as his deſerts required, and would advance him above all the nobility of England, which was quickly performed, his head being placed upon the higheſt tower in London for a terror to ſuch villainous traitors to their king. Edric being thus deſervedly diſappointed of the mighty thoughts he entertained of greatneſs, upon the advancement of King Cnute, this generous Dane ſcorned his baſeneſs, and ſo having paid him a traitors reward, cauſed execution to be done upon all Edric's accomplices, and thoſe that conſented to the baſe murder of that brave Prince King Edmund.

About

About the ſame time there happened no ſmall di- A. D. 1018.
ſturbance and commotions in Wales; Lhewelyn ap Sytſylht having for ſome years ſat ſtill and quiet, began now to beſtir himſelf; and having drawn all his forces together, marched againſt Aedan, who forcibly and without any legal pretence, had entered upon, and for all this time had kept himſelf in the government of North Wales, Aedan would not eaſily eject himſelf from what had been ſo long in his poſſeſſion to maintain which, he gave Lhewelyn battle: But the day going againſt him, himſelf, with his four ſons, were ſlain upon the ſpot; upon which, Lhewelyn, without any regard had to Iago the ſon of Edwal the right heir, took upon himſelf the title and authority of Prince of all Wales. His pretence to North-Wales, was, as being deſcended from Trawſt daughter to Elis, ſecond ſon to Anarawd, who was the eldeſt ſon of Roderic the Great; and to South Wales, as having married Angharad the only daughter of Meredith Prince of South Wales; by virtue of which pretenſions he aſſumed to himſelf the government of all Wales.

LHEWELYN AP SITSYLHT.

LHEWELYN having, as is ſaid, taken upon him the general government of Wales, managed his charge with ſuch prudence and moderation, that the country in a ſhort time became very flouriſhing and proſperous; peace and tranquility being eſtabliſhed produced plenty and increaſe of all things neceſſary to human ſubſiſtence: For there was none that could lay any claim or pretence to either of the principalities, excepting Iago the ſon of Edwal, who was indeed lawful heir of North Wales; but either too weak to withſtand, or unwilling to diſturb Lhewelyn's title, he lay quiet for a time, expecting a better opportunity

portunity to recover his right. In the mean time, Cnute being crowned king of all England, marries Emma the widow of King Edelred; and for the better ſecuring the Engliſh crown to himſelf and his heirs, he thought it expedient to diſpatch Edmund and Edward the ſons of Ironſide out of the way. But leſt ſuch an execrable fact ſhould ſeem too black to be done in England, he ſent the two youths to Solomon King of Hungary, willing him to uſe ſome convenient opportunity to take away their lives; which ſeemed to Solomon ſo very unnatural, that inſtead of complying with Cnute's requeſt, he educated and brought them up as his own children. But Cnute imagined now that his fear was over, and his buſineſs effectually finiſhed; ſo that he could the more boldly demand of his ſubjects, what either his neceſſity or curioſity would prompt him to. And reflecting with himſelf, what exceſſive expence he had been at in the conqueſt of England, was reſolved that the Engliſh ſhould repay him; and therefore required a ſubſidy of ſeventy two thouſand pounds, beſides eleven thouſand, which the city of London contributed. The ſame time Meyric the ſon of Arthfael, a perſon of quality in Wales, rebelled, and raiſed an army againſt Prince Lhewelyn, who no ſooner appeared in the field to quell his male-contented General, but manfully ſlew him with his own hand, and eaſily diſcomfited his followers. The ſame time Cnute ſailed over into Denmark, and made war upon the Vandals, who, for all that they had a greater army in the field, were overcome by the incomparable valour of earl Godwyn; for which famous action Cnute had the Engliſh in great eſteem ever after.

A. D. 1020. But Lhewelyn Prince of Wales, though he had lately quelled the rebels headed by Meyric, was now to encounter with another difficulty, which ſeemed to threaten greater diſturbance and trouble to him: for a certain perſon of a mean quality in Scotland, coming to South Wales, aſſumed the name of Run, and gave out that he was the ſon of Meredith Prince of South-Wales; to whom joined a great number of the nobility,

bility, who had no great affection to Lhewelyn, and proclaimed Run Prince of South Wales. Lhewelyn being then in North Wales, and certified of this famous impoſtor, drawing his army together, marched to meet him; who, with the whole ſtrength of South Wales, then lay at Abergwili, where he abode the arrival of Lhewelyn. When both armies were ready to join battle, Run makes a vaunting ſpeech to his ſoldiers, aſſuring them of victory; and ſo perſuading them courageouſly to fall on, privately himſelf retired out of harm's way; there one might have obſerved on the one ſide a valiant army under a cowardly general, and on the other part a valiant and a noble commander engaging with a ſlow and a faint-hearted army; for Lhewelyn, like a bold and caurageous prince, ventured into the midſt of his enemies, whilſt Run privately ſneaked off out of all danger; and the South Wales men were more fierce and eager in the cauſe of a pretender than the North Wales men to maintain the quarrel of a prince of their own blood. But after great ſlaughter on both ſides, the North Wales men calling to mind the ſeveral victories they had obtained, and withal being in a very great meaſure animated by the incomparable valour of their prince, fell on ſo warmly, that they put their enemies to flight, and purſued Run ſo cloſe, that notwithſtanding his ſeveral ſhifts, he was at laſt overtaken and ſlain. Lhewelyn, after this victory, returned laden with ſpoil into North Wales, and for ſome time lived peaceably and without diſturbance: But the next year Howel and Meredith, the ſons of Edwyn, conſpired againſt him and ſlew him, leaving behind him a ſon called Gruffydh ap Lhewelyn, who afterwards, though not immediately, aſcended to the principality of North Wales.

IAGO AP EDWAL.

AFTER the death of Lhewelyn, Iago the ſon Edwal, the true heir to the principality of North Wales, who had been all this time wrongfully kept from it; thought this the beſt opportunity to enter upon his right, by reaſon of the minority of Gruffydh the ſon of Lhewelyn; upon which pretence likewiſe Rytherch the ſon of Ieſtyn forcibly aſſumed the principality of South Wales. About the ſame time Cnute King of England, ſailed over to Denmark and Sweden, againſt Ulf and Alaf, who had moved the Finlanders againſt him; whom he ſubdued with the loſs of a great part of his army, as well Engliſh as Danes. Within a while after his return to England, he made a very pompous and magnificent journey to Rome; more to ſatisfy his ambitious temper, and to ſignify to the world his greatneſs and might, which he expreſſed by his coſtly preſents and princely behaviour, than any way to make atonement for the oppreſſion and bloodſhed by which he had eſtabliſhed himſelf in his kingdom: For what holineſs and mortification he had learnt at Rome, preſently appeared upon his return to England; for upon no provocation he marched with an army into Scotland, and forced Malcolm the king thereof, together with Molbeath and Jermare, the kings of the Orkneys and Ewiſt, to do him homage.

A. D. 1031. But the affairs of Wales were at this time very turbulent and uneaſy; for Howel and Meredith, after the murder of Prince Lhewelyn, expected to enjoy ſome part of his principality themſelves; but finding Iago to have ſeized upon North Wales, and Rytherch upon South Wales, and withal perceiving their own power too weak to oppoſe their deſigns, they invited over the Iriſh-Scots, to their aid againſt Rytherch ap Ieſtyn, Prince

Prince of South Wales. By the help of theſe, Howel and Meredith prevailed over Rytherch; who being at length ſlain, they jointly took upon them the rule and government of South Wales. But this was not a ſufficient title to eſtabliſh them ſo firmly in it, that their uſurpation would not be called in queſtion; for the A. D. 1032.
ſons of Rytherch, preſently after their father's death, gathered their forces together to fight with the brothers Howel and Meredith, who met at Irathwy, where a cruel battle was fought, called Gwaith Irathwy; and at laſt the ſons of Rytherch, were put to flight. But though theſe victories, the one over Rytherch, and the ſecond over his ſons, ſeemed in a great meaſure to favour Howel and Meredith's pretence to, and eſtabliſhment in the principality, yet ſo unpardonable a 1033.
crime, as the murder of Lhewelyn, a prince of ſo extraordinary qualities, could not remain long unrevenged; for the ſons of Conan the ſon of Sitſylht, Prince Lhewelyn's brother, were reſolved to return their uncle's murder upon the two uſurpers, which in a ſhort time they effected againſt Meredith, who met with the ſame end from the ſons of Conan, that he had formerly inflicted upon Lhewelyn. But theſe civil diſ- 1034.
cords in Wales were quickly diſcovered by the Engliſh, who taking advantrge of ſo fair an opportunity, entered with a great army into the land of Gwent, where after they had committed conſiderable waſte for ſome time, Caradoc the ſon of Rytherch ap Ieſtyn, gave them battle, but was in that engagement unhappily ſlain. And ſhortly afterwards died King Cnute, the 1035.
moſt famous and mightieſt prince then in the weſtern parts of the world; whoſe dominions extended over all Sweden, from Germany almoſt to the north Pole; together with the kingdoms of Norway and Denmark, and the noble iſland of Britain. To him ſucceeded his ſon Harold, for his ſwiftneſs, ſurnamed Harefoot, begotten upon Alwyn the daughter of Duke Alſelyn; though ſeveral ſtickled firmly for Hardycnute, his other ſon by Emma, who was then in Denmark. But Harold being once advanced to the throne, took care to eſtabliſh himſelf as firmly as he could in it; and to that end,

thought it expedient to baniſh out of his dominions his mother-in-law Emma, who was reſtleſs to promote the intereſt of her own ſon Hardycnute, and to bring him to the crown of England.

A. D. 1037. And whilſt Harold was by theſe meaſures ſettled in his throne, Iago ap Edwal was juſt upon the point of loſing his principality of North Wales: for Gruffydh the ſon of Lhewelyn ap Sitſylht, ſometime Prince of North Wales, having once hinted a rebellion againſt Iago, was ſo generally encouraged, and univerſally followed by all people, for the love they bore to his father; that in a ſhort time his army mounted to an invincible number. However, Iago was not ſo thoroughly affrighted, that he would deliver up his principality without drawing a ſword for it; but providing for himſelf as well he could, and drawing together what forces he was able; he gave Gruffydh battle; But his number being far too weak to oppoſe ſo great an army as ſided with Gruffydh, was preſently overpowered and put to the rout, and himſelf ſlain, leaving after him a ſon called Conan, by his wife Afandred, daughter to Gweir the ſon of Pylh.

GRUFFYDH AP LHEWELYN.

IAGO ap Edwal being killed, Gruffydh ap Lhewelyn was received with loud acclamations, and joyfully ſaluted Prince of North Wales; who treading in his father's ſteps, behaved himſelf in his government with that prudence and conduct, that he manfully defended his country from the frequent invaſions of the Engliſh and Danes: for he was ſcarce ſettled in his throne, when theſe inveterate enemies of the Welch entered in an hoſtile manner into Wales, and advanced as far as Croſford upon the Severn, where Gruffydh met them, and forced them ſhamefully to fly, and retire

tire back to their own country. From thence Gruffydh paſſed to Lhanbadarn Vawr in Cardiganſhire, which he laid in aſhes; and afterwards marched through all the country of South Wales, receiving of the people oaths of fidelity and ſubjection to him. In the mean time, Howel ap Edwyn, Prince of South Wales, fled to Edwyn brother to Leofric Earl of Cheſter, and prevailed with him to come with an army conſiſting of Engliſh and Danes, to his aid againſt Gruffydh, who meeting his enemies in the field, eaſily overcame them, Edwyn being ſlain upon the ſpot, and Howel forced to preſerve his life by flight. After which victory, Gruffydh having reduced all the country of Wales to ſubjection, returned again to North Wales. But Howel as ſoon as he could recover himA. D. 1039.
ſelf and recruit his army, entered again into South Wales, intending the recovery of that principality, which he was now ſo well aſſured of, that he brought his wife with him to the field, to let her ſee how eaſily he could conquer and overcome Prince Gruffydh. But too great an aſſurance of victory ſeldom proves proſperous; which Howel preſently experienced; for Gruffydh meeting with him at Pencadair, gave him ſo warm an entertainment, that he was forced preſently to take his heels, which however could not ſo well ſecure him, but that he was narrowly purſued, and his wife who was to be entertained with the conqueſt of Gruffydh, on the contrary, ſaw herſelf taken priſoner by him, and forced to comply ſo far to his humour, as to be his concubine.

The ſame time Harold King of England died, and was ſucceeded by his brother Hardycnute, a Prince very famous for hoſpitality, and a great lover of good chear, having his table covered four times a-day, with great plenty and variety of diſhes, with other ſuperfluities for all comers. But he likewiſe dying at Lambeth after two years reign, the Engliſh agreed to ſend for Alfred the eldeſt ſon of Edelred from Normandy, and to make him king. This meſſage by no means pleaſed Earl Godwyn, a man of great ſway now in England; who knowing Alfred to be a perſon of

greater ſpirit than to permit him to domineer as he pleaſed, endeavoured all he could to diſſuade the Engliſh from ſending for Alfred. He ſhewed them how dangerous it was to permit a warlike nation to take root in their country, and how well Alfred was accompanied with Normans, to whom he had promiſed the chief places and rule of the kingdom; by which and other like inſinuations he ſo diſguſted the Engliſh nobility againſt the Normans, that to diminiſh their number, they put every tenth man to death. But ſeeing this was not ſufficient, they acted the ſame part over again, and tythed them a ſecond time; and being highly enraged againſt the Normans, they led Alfred, who had brought them over, from Gilford, where this execution was committed, to Gillingham, where having put out his eyes, they removed him to Ely, and there at length pitifully murdered him. Then they ſent for Edward out of Normandy, and made him king, who, according to his promiſe to Earl Godwyn, married his daughter Edith, a lady much commended not only for beauty, modeſty, and other feminine qualifications, but alſo beyond what is requiſite for a woman, learning. But King Edward did not deal ſo favourably with her brother Swane, ſon to Earl Godwyn, who upon ſome diſtaſte was baniſhed England, and thereupon forced to betake himſelf to Baldwyn earl of Flanders, by whom he was very honourably received.

A. D. 1041 Theſe troubles and revolutions in England were ſucceeded by others of no leſs conſequence in Wales. For Howel, not brooking to be kept ſo ſhamefully out of his kingdom, returns again the third time into South Wales, where he had not continued long, but a great number of ſtrangers landed in the weſt of Wales, and advancing farther into the country, pillaged and deſtroyed all places they came to. Howel, though deſirous to reſerve his army to fight with Prince Gruffydh, yet could not behold his country ſo miſerably waſted and over-run by ſtrangers; and thinking moreover, that by ſo charitable an action he ſhould win the univerſal love of the South Wales men, drew up his forces

forces againſt them, and overtaking them at Pwll Fynach, forced them with much loſs, to retire to their ſhips; which action was called in Welch, Gwaith Pwll Fynach. At the ſame time Conan the ſon of Iago ap Edwal, who was forced for fear of Prince Gruffydh to flee to Ireland, with the forces of Alfred king of Dublin, whoſe daughter named Ranulph he had married, landed in North Wales; and having by ſome treacherous ſtratagem taken Gruffydh, triumphantly carried him priſoner towards his ſhips. This unhappy accident being diſcovered, and publickly known, the North Wales men did riſe on a ſudden, and ſo unexpectedly overtook the Iriſh, that they eaſily recovered their Prince, and drove his enemies with great ſlaughter to their ſhips; who, without any farther conſultation, were glad to ſtrike ſail with Conan for Ireland. And now Wales, both North and South, is free from all foreign invaſion, and Howel, as yet too weak to diſpute his title with Gruffydh; ſo that A. D. 1042. the next year could be ſubject to no great action, in which nothing happened remarkable, ſaving the death of Howel the ſon of Owen Lord of Glamorgan, a man of great quality and eſteem in Wales. But as 1043. ſoon as Howel could call in his Danes, to whom he added all the forces he could raiſe in South Wales; he intended preſently to march againſt Prince Gruffydh. But he being aware aforehand to what end thoſe levies were deſigned, prepared againſt the enſuing ſtorm; and to avert the war from his own country, marched courageouſly to South Wales, not fearing to face an enemy whom he had ſhamefully vanquiſhed twice already. Both armies being joined, Gruffydh eaſily overcame, and purſued Howel as far as the ſpring-head of the river Towy, where after a long and a bloody fight, Howel was at laſt ſlain, and his army ſo univerſally routed, that few eſcaped with their lives. But though Howel was dead, yet there remained ſtill more pretenders to the principality of South Wales; ſo that Gruffydh was in no great proſpect to enjoy the ſame peaceably: For as ſoon as it was publiſhed that Howel's army was defeated, and himſelf

ſelf ſlain, Rytherch and Rhys the ſons of Rytherch ap Ieſtyn put in their claim to South Wales in right of their father, who had once enjoyed the ſovereignty of that country. And in order to the recovery of the ſame, they drew together a great army, conſiſting partly of ſtrangers and partly of ſuch as they could raiſe in Gwentland and Glamorgan, and marched to fight with Gruffydh. The Prince according to his uſual manner detracted no time, but animating and ſolacing his ſoldiers with the remembrance of their former victories and conqueſts, bid the enemies battle, which proved ſo very bloody and terrible, that nothing could part them beſide the darkneſs of the night. This battle ſo tired and tamed both armies, that neither was very deſirous of another engagement, and ſo one being unwilling to ſet upon the other, they both agreed to return to their own habitations. The ſame time Joſeph biſhop of Teilo or Llandaf died at Rome. But both armies being ſeparated, Prince Gruffydh enjoyed a quiet and unmoleſted poſſeſſion of all Wales for about two years; after which, the gentry of Yſtrad Towy treacherouſly ſlew 140 of the choice of his army, which he took in ſo high an indignation, that to revenge their death, he deſtroyed all Dyfed and Yſtrad Towy.

About the ſame time, Lothen and Hyrling two Daniſh pirates, with a great number of Danes, landed at Sandwich, and having plundered the town, returned again to their ſhips, and ſailed for Holland, where they ſold the booty they had taken, and then returned to their own country. Shortly afterwards Earl Swayn came out of Denmark with eight ſhips, and returned to England, and coming to his father's houſe at Peveneſe, humbly requeſted of, and his brothers Harold and Toſtie, to endeavour his reconciliation with the King. Earl Beorned too promiſed to intercede for him, and going to Swayn's fleet to ſail to Sandwich, where the King then lay, he was by the way moſt treacherouſly and ungratefully murdered, and his body caſt upon the ſhore, which lay there expoſed, till his friends hearing of the fact, came and carried it to Wincheſter, and buried it by the body of King Cnute,

Beorned's

Beorned's uncle. Swayn having committed this moſt deteſtable murder, put himſelf again under the protection of the earl of Flanders, not daring to ſhew his face in England, till his father by earneſt mediation wrought his peace with the king.

This year Conan the ſon of Iago raiſed again an army of his friends in Ireland, and ſailed towards Wales, purpoſing to recover his inheritance in that country. But when he was come near the Welch coaſt, there ſuddenly aroſe ſuch a violent ſtorm, that his fleet was preſently ſcattered, and moſt of his ſhips drowned, which rendered this expedition ineffectual. About the ſame time, Robert archbiſhop of Canterbury impeached Earl Godwyn and his ſons Swayn and Harold of treaſon, and the queen of adultery, and upon the account of their non-appearance when cited before the the peers at Gloceſter, the queen was divorced, and Godwyn and his ſons baniſhed, who with his ſon Swayn fled to Flanders, and Harold to Ireland. But theſe unlucky claſhings, and the many troubles that enſued thereupon, happened upon this occaſion. Euſtace earl of Bologne being married to Goda the king's ſiſter, came over this year to England to pay king Edward a viſit, and in his return to Canterbury, one of his retinue forcibly demanding a lodging, provoked the maſter of the houſe ſo far, as by chance or anger to kill him. Euſtace upon this affront returns back to the king, and by the inſinuations of the archbiſhop, makes a loud complaint againſt the Kentiſh-men; to repreſs whoſe inſolencies, earl Godwyn is commanded to raiſe forces, which he refuſing to do, for the kindneſs he bore to his countrymen of Kent, the king ſummons a parliament at Gloceſter, and commands Godwyn to appear there. But he miſtruſting either his own cauſe, or the malice of his adverſaries, gathered a powerful army out of his own and his ſons earldoms, and marched towards Gloceſter, giving out that their forces were to go againſt the Welch, who intended to invade the Marſhes. But King Edward being ſatisfied by the Welch that they had no ſuch

deſign

deſign in hand, commanded Godwyn to diſmiſs his army, and to appear himſelf to anſwer to the articles exhibited againſt him. Godwyn refuſing to obey, the king by the advice of earl Leofrick, ſummoned an aſſembly at London, whither a great number of forces arrived from Mercia, which Godwyn perceiving, and withal, finding himſelf unable to withſtand the king's proceedings, privately retired with his ſons out of the kingdom, and fled into Flanders. Whereupon the king iſſued out an edict, proclaiming Godwyn and his ſons out-laws, and then confiſcating their eſtates, beſtowed them upon others of his nobility. And, to purſue his diſpleaſure the farther, he divorced his queen Edith, earl Godwyn's daughter, and committed her to a cloiſter, where in a mean condition ſhe ſpent ſome part of her life. In the diſtribution of the forfeited eſtates, Adonan obtained the earldoms of Devon and Dorſet, and Algar the ſon of Leofrick, that of Harold. But Godwyn could not patiently behold his eſtate beſtowed upon another, and therefore having hired ſome men and ſhips in Flanders, he ſailed to the Iſle of Wight, where after that he had made a ſufficient havock, he put in at Portland, which he treated after the ſame manner. The ſame time Harold having ſailed from Ireland, at length met with his father, and then with their united navy, they burnt Preveneſeny, Romney, Heath, Folkſton, Dover and Sandwich, and entering the Thames, they deſtroyed Cheppy, and burnt the king's houſe at Middletown. Then they ſailed up the river towards London, where the king's army being ready to oppoſe them, a treaty of peace was by the means of Biſhop Stigand agreed upon, which proved ſo effectual of Godwyn's ſide, that the king received him again to his favour, reſtored him and ſons to all their eſtates, recalled the queen, and baniſhed the archbiſhop, with all the Frenchmen who had been promoters of that unhappy ſuſpicion the king had entertained of them.

About this time, Rhys brother to Gruffydh Prince of Wales, who by ſeveral irruptions upon the borders, had

had conſiderably gauled and damaged the Engliſh, was taken and put to death at Bulendun, whoſe head being cut off, was preſented to the king, then at Gloceſter. But he received better news ſome time after from the North, for Siward earl of Northumberland having ſent his ſon againſt Macbeth king of Scotland vanquiſhed the ſons, tho' not without the loſs of his ſon, and many others, both Engliſh and Danes. But Siward was not caſt down at his ſon's death, but enquiring whether he received his death's wound before or behind, and being aſſured that it was before, replied, "He was very glad of it, for he "could not wiſh his ſon to die otherwiſe." After this victory, King Edward marched in perſon to Scotland, and having again overcome Macbeth in battle, he made the whole kingdom of Scotland tributary to the crown of England. The next year, earl Godwyn ſitting with the king at table, ſunk down dead of a ſudden, being choaked, as 'tis thought, in ſwallowing a morſel of bread; whoſe earldom the king beſtowed upon his ſon Harold, and his upon Algar earl of Cheſter.

To this time is referred the original of the Stewards in Scotland, which being a remarkable paſſage, and in a great meaſure dependant upon the affairs of the Welch, is requiſite to be here recorded. Macbeth king of Scotland having cauſed Bancho a nobleman of that kingdom to be inhumanly murdered; Fleance, Bancho's ſon, to avoid the like cruelty to himſelf, fled to Gruffydh ap Lhewelyn prince of Wales, who taking a very great liking to his perſon, and withal commiſerating his condition, ſhewed him all the reſpect and kindneſs poſſible. But Fleance had not continued long with Gruffydh when he fell enamoured upon the prince's daughter, and having obtained her good-will, without any regard had to her father's civility towards him, abuſed her ſo far as to beget her with child. Gruffydh being acquainted with the matter of fact, ſo heinouſly reſented the affront, that he occaſioned Fleance to be ſlain, and treated his daughter moſt ſervilely for proſtrating her chaſtity,

chaſtity, eſpecially to a ſtranger. However, ſhe was in a ſhort time delivered of a ſon, whoſe name was chriſtened Walter; a child, who in his youth expreſſed very great hopes, and in all probability like to make a very conſiderable man, which happened according to expectation. But the firſt original of his future greatneſs happened upon a very accidental occaſion; being reproached of baſtardiſm by one of his fellow companions, he took it in ſo unpardonable a dudgeon, that nothing could ſatisfy his revenge, but the life of the aggreſſor. Being upon this miſchance affraid to undergo the puniſhment of the law, he thought it ſafe to fly to Scotland, where falling in company with certain Engliſhmen who were come thither with queen Margaret ſiſter to Edgar Edeling, he behaved himſelf ſo ſoberly and diſcreetly, that he won the favour and good character of all that knew him. But his fame daily increaſing, he grew at length to that height of reputation, as to be employed in the moſt inward affairs of the commonwealth, and at laſt was made Lord Steward of Scotland, from which office his poſterity retained the ſurname of Steward, the kings of Scotland of that name, with ſeveral other families of quality in that kingdom being deſcended from him.

But to return to England, Siward the worthy earl of Northumberland died about this time of the bloody-flux, a man of a rough demeanour, and a meer ſoldierly temper, as he plainly manifeſted at the point of death. For bewailing his misfortune that had eſcaped ſo many dangerous engagements, and withal diſdaining to die ſo effeminately in bed, he cauſed himſelf to be compleatly armed, and as it were in defiance of death, preſently expired in a martial bravery. But his ſon being too young, the king beſtowed his earldom upon Toſty the ſon of earl Godwyn.

1054. Wales had been now a long time quiet, and void of all troubles both abroad and at home, but it could not be expected that ſuch a life ſhould prove durable,

ble, but ſomething or other would create new commotions and diſturbances. Gruffydh ſon to Rytherch ap Ieſtyn having recruited and recovered himſelf after the laſt blow he received from Prince Gruffydh, muſt needs venture another trial for the principality of South Wales. The Prince protracting no time, ſpeedily marched againſt him, and both armies being joined, Gruffydh ap Rytherch was eaſily vanquiſhed, and in fine, ſlain. But the troubles of the Welch did not end with him, for Algar Earl of Cheſter being convicted of treaſon, and thereupon baniſhed the kingdom, fled to Gruffydh Prince of Wales, requeſting his aid againſt king Edward, who, repeating the frequent wrongs he had received at the hands of the Engliſh, by upholding his enemies againſt him, gladly embraced the opportunity, and promiſed him all imaginable ſupport. And thereupon aſſembling his forces, he entered with him into Herefordſhire, and advancing into the country, within two miles of the city of Hereford, they were oppoſed by Randulph Earl of that country, who boldly gave them battle. The fight continued very dreadful and dubious for ſome hours, till at laſt Gruffydh ſo encouraged his ſoldiers with the remembrance of their former victories over the Engliſh, that they fell on a-main, and eaſily diſcomfited Randulph, and ſlew the beſt part of his army. Afterwards they purſued their chace to the town, and having made all the waſte and havock they were able, they laid the town itſelf in aſhes, and ſo returned home triumphantly, laden with rich booty and plunder. King Edward receiving notice of this invaſion, preſently gathered a great army at Gloceſter under the conduct of Harold Earl Godwyn's ſon, who courageouſly purſuing the enemies, entered into Wales, and encamped beyond Stradclwyd. But Gruffydh and Algar dreading to oppoſe him, retired further into South Wales, of which Harold being certified, leaves one part of his army behind with orders to fight, if ocoaſion offered, and with the other paſſed to Hereford, which he fortified with a ſtrong wall round the town. Gruffydh perceiving his undaunted induſtry, after many meſſages concluded a peace

peace with Harold at a place called Biligelhag, by which articles Algar was pardoned by the King, and reſtored to his earldom of Cheſter. But he did not continue long in the king's favour, for about two years after, upon conviction of treaſon, he was again baniſhed the land, ſo that he was forced to betake himſelf to his old friend Gruffydh Prince of Wales, by whoſe aid, and a fleet from Norway in ſpite of of the king he was reſtored to his earldom. But King Edward was ſore offended with the Prince of Wales for harbouring traitors, and therefore to be revenged upon him, he diſpatched Harold again with an army to North Wales, who, coming to Ruthlan, burnt the Prince's palace there, and his fleet, that lay in the harbour, and then returned to the king at Gloceſter.

This year Edward the ſon of Edmund Ironſide, who was ſent for out of Hungary, being deſigned ſucceſſor to the crown, came to England, but in a ſhort time after his coming, died at London, leaving behind him a ſon called Edgar Edeling, and a daughter named Margaret, who was afterwards queen of the Scots, and
1956. mother to Maud the wife of Henry the firſt. About two years after, Roderic, ſon to Harold king of Denmark came with a conſiderable army into Wales, and being kindly received by Prince Gruffydh, united his power with the Welch, and ſo entered into England, which they cruelly harraſſed and deſtroyed. But before they could advance any conſiderable diſtance, Roderic was compelled to ſail for Denmark, and ſo Gruffydh returned laden with ſpoils into Wales. The ſame time Harold Earl Godwyn's ſon ſailing to Flanders, was driven by force of weather to land at Poytiers, where being ſeized upon, he was brought before William baſtard duke of Normandy, to whom he declared the reaſon of his voyage, that it was purpoſely to tender him his ſervice in the affairs of England; and ſo taking an oath, firſt to marry the duke's daughter, and after the death of Edward to ſecure the kingdom of England for him,

he was honourably diſmiſſed. Upon his return to England, by the perſuaſions of Caradoc the ſon of Gruffydh ap Rytherch, himſelf with his brother Toſty, raiſed a great army and entered into South-Wales, which they deſtroyed after that manner, that the Welch were glad to deliver up hoſtages for the payment of the antient tribute, which afore-time they were uſed to pay. Gruffydh hearing of the inſolencies of the Engliſh in South-Wales, made all poſſible haſte and preparation to oppoſe them, but all to no purpoſe; Harold having already treacherouſly hired ſome of Gruffydh's neareſt friends to murder him, who watching their opportunity, executed their wicked deſign and brought his head to Harold. Gruffydh being dead, Harold by King Edward's orders, appointed Meredith ſon of Owen ap Edwyn prince of South-Wales, and the government of North-Wales to Blethyn and Rywalhon the ſons of Confyn, brothers by the mother ſide to Prince Gruffydh, and who probably for the deſire of rule, were acceſſary to the murder of that noble prince. This Gruffydh ap Lhewelyn enjoyed the principality of Wales for the ſpace of thirty four years; a prince of incomparable virtues, both wiſe and valiant, beloved of his ſubjects and formidable to his enemines, in all his actions he behaved himſelf great and princely; and having defended his country ſo bravely againſt all foreign oppoſition; he was far unworthy of that treacherous and cruel death, which his unkind ſubjects and unnatural friends beſtowed upon him. He left iſſue but one daughter called Neſt, abuſed firſt by Fleance ſon of Bancho, and afterwards married to Trahaern ap Caradoc prince of North-Wales.

BLETHYN

BLETHYN and RYWALHON.

AFTER the deplorable murder of Prince Gruffydh, Meredith the ſon of Owen ap Edwyn, who according to ſome, was ſon to Howel Dha, did take upon him, as 'tis ſaid, the government of South-Wales, and Blethyn and Rywalhon the ſons of Conſyn, half brothers to Gruffydh, as deſcended from Angharad daughter to Meredith ſometime prince of Wales, entered upon the principality of North-Wales; Conan the ſon of Iago ap Edwal the right heir to that crown being then with his father-in-law in Ireland. This partition of Wales fell much ſhort of the expectation of Caradoc ap Gruffydh ap Rytherch, who being the chief promoter of Harold's making an expedition againſt Gruffydh ap Lhewelyn, made no queſtion to attain to the government of South-Wales, in caſe Gruffydh got the worſe. But it happened otherwiſe; Harold being ſenſible of Caradoc's ſubtilty and knavery, and doubting whether if he was made prince of South-Wales, he could obtain a certain lordſhip nigh Hereford, which he had a longing mind to, made a compoſition with Meredith ap Owen for the ſaid lordſhip, and created him Prince of South Wales, and on the contrary baniſhed Caradoc out of the country. Harold having obtained his requeſt, built a very magnificent houſe at a place called Portaſcyth in Monmouthſhire, and ſtoring it with great quantity of proviſion, ſplendidly entertained the king, who honoured him with a viſit. This was by no means pleaſing to Toſty, to ſee his younger brother in greater eſteem and favour with the king than himſelf, and having concealed his diſpleaſure for a time, could not forbear at length but diſcover his grievance. For one day at Windſor, while Harold reached the cup to king Edward, Toſty ready to burſt

for envy that his brother was ſo much reſpected beyond himſelf, could not refrain to run furiouſly upon him, and pulling him by the hair, dragged him to the ground, for which unmannerly action, the king forbad him the court. But he with continued rancour and malice rides to Hereford, where Harold had many ſervants preparing an entertainment for the king, and ſetting upon them with his followers lopped off the hands and legs of ſome, the arms and heads of others, and threw them into the buts of wine and other liquors, which were put in for the king's drinking, and at his departure charged the ſervants to acquaint him, "That "of other freſh meats he might carry with him what "he pleaſed, but for ſauce he ſhould find plenty provid-"ed ready for him." For which barbarous offence the king pronounced a ſentence of perpetual baniſhment upon him. But Caradoc ap Gruffydh gave a finiſhing ſtroke to Harold's houſe, and the king's entertainment at Portaſcyth; for coming thither ſhortly after Toſty's departure, to be revenged upon Harold, he killed all the workmen and labourers, with all the ſervants he could find, and utterly defacing the building, carried away all the coſtly materials, which with great charges and expence had been brought thither to beautify and adorn the ſtructure. Soon after which, the Northumbrians (who could not endure the inſolencies of the two brothers Harold and Toſty, who bearing an uncontroulable ſway in the kingdom, were uſed to practiſe moſt helliſh villainies to encompaſs any man's eſtate that diſpleaſed them,) in a tumult at York beſet the palace of Toſty, and having pillaged his treaſure, ſlew all his family, as well Engliſhmen as Danes. Then adjoining to themſelves the people of Lincoln, Nottingham and Derbyſhire, they elected Marcher the ſon of Earl Algar their general, to whom came his brother Edwyn with a conſiderable number of forces, and a great party of Welchmen. Then they marched in an hoſtile manner to Northampton, where Harold met them, being ſent by the king to know their demands; to whom they laid open their grievances, and the cruelty of Toſty's government, and at laſt, with an abſolute

refuſal of admitting him again, deſired that Marcher ſhould be appointed Earl over them, which the king upon the reaſonable complaints of injuries done by Toſty, eaſily granted, and willingly confirmed Marcher's title. Whereupon they peaceably returned back to the North, and the Welch with ſeveral priſoners and other booties got in this expedition, returned to Wales.

A.D. 1066 The year following, King Edward died, and was buried at Weſtminſter, being the laſt king of the Saxon blood before the conqueſt that governed the kingdom of England, which from Cerdic king of the Weſt Saxons had continued 544, and from Egbert the firſt monarch, 171 years. Edward being dead, the next debate was about an election of a ſucceſſor, Edgar Edeling being ſet up by ſome, as lawful heir to the crown, which Harold as being a perſon of greater power and authority in the kingdom, much wealthier and better befriended, preſently thwarted, and brought matters ſo cunningly about, that himſelf was choſen king, without any regard obſerved to the oath and promiſe he had formerly made to William Duke of Normandy. Duke William upon notice of Harold's advancement, how that he had accepted of the crown of England contrary to the articles between them, convened together his nobles, and laid before them the ſeveral wrongs and affronts he had received at the hands of Harold, as the death of his couſin Alfred, the baniſhment of archbiſhop Robert, Earl Odan and all the Normans, and laſtly the breach of his oath and promiſe. Then he declared to them the pretence he had to claim the crown of England, that Edward had given him formerly an abſolute promiſe in Normandy, that if ever he enjoyed the Engliſh crown, William ſhould be his heir; which title, though in itſelf weak and inſignificant ſerved William's purpoſe well enough to make an expedition againſt an intruder. Duke William's pretence ſeemed plauſible enough to the Norman nobility, but the difficulty of the undertaking and the danger of this expedition was ſomething perplexive, and made them

them leſs inclinable to encourage ſo precipitous an undertaking; which they the more diſliked upon the perſuaſion of William Fitzoſbert the duke's ſewer, whom they pitched upon to deliver their thoughts as to the expedition, unto the duke. But he inſtead of diſſuading him from this voyage, politically declared that himſelf with all his power were ready to live and die with him in this expedition, which the reſt hearing, could not but offer the duke their ſervice in the ſame manner; and ſo all things were prepared for an invaſion of England. In the mean while Toſty, full of indignation at his brother's advancement to the crown, entered the river Humber with forty ſail, but meeting with Earl Edwyn who came to oppoſe him, he was forced after a conſiderable encounter to bear off, and ſecure himſelf by flight. But meeting with Harold king of Norway upon the coaſt of Scotland, coming for England with three hundred ſail, he joined his forces with Harold, and ſo both together entering the Humber, they landed their army and marched to York, where the Earls Edwyn and Marcher unſucceſsfully gave them battle. Having pillaged and deſtroyed that city, they paſſed on to Stamford-bridge, and there met with King Harold, who with a well diſciplined army was come to ſtop their farther carreer. After a long and a terrible fight, and much bloodſhed on both ſides, the Norwegians began at laſt to give back, which the Engliſh perceiving, fell on ſo manfully that few or none eſcaped with their lives, Harold and Toſty being alſo ſlain upon the ſpot. One of the Norwegians is deſervedly recorded for his incomparable exploits performed in this battle, who with incredible valour maintaining the bridge againſt the whole ſtrength of the Engliſh army for above an hour with his ſingle reſiſtance delayed their victory, and having ſlain a great number of his enemies, he ſeemed invincible, till in the end, no one daring to grapple with him fairly, he was run through with a ſpear from under the bridge, and ſo by his fall, a paſſage was opened for purſuit to compleat the vic-

tory. King Harold over-joyed with this ſucceſs, triumphantly entered into York, and whilſt he was making merry with his nobles at a ſumptuous feaſt, news came that Duke William of Normandy was ſafely landed at, and began to fortify himſelf in Haſtings, with which tidings being no way daſhed, as fearing nothing after his late victory, he forthwith marched towards him, and as ſoon as he was arrived in Suſſex, without any conſideration of the fatigue his army had underwent in their march, bid William battle. The Duke dividing his army into five battalions, made a long harrangue to his ſoldiers, wherein he repeated and commended the noble acts of their anceſtors the Danes and Norwegians, who had perpetually vanquiſhed the Engliſh and French, and other nations, as many as they had to do with; how that themſelves being well horſed and armed, were now to engage with a people void of both, who had no other defence to truſt to, than the nimbleneſs and ſwiftneſs of their heels. Both armies being joined upon the fourteenth day of October, Duke William after ſome hours engaging ordered his army ſo to retire, as if they ſeemed to fly, which the Engliſh perceiving, broke their ranks in haſte of purſuing the ſuppoſed chace, which falling out according to the Duke's expectation, he ſent in a freſh ſupply of Normans, who falling upon the confuſed battalions of the Engliſh, eaſily overcame them, and Harold receiving firſt a wound by an arrow, were at length ſlain, and then both the field and the victory were left to the Normans. The day being thus won, William from this time called the Conqueror, went ſtraight to London, where he was received with all poſſible formality, and upon Chriſtmas-day ſolemnly crowned king of England. This change and alteration in England, was afore prognoſticated by a comet which appeared in the ſpring of this year, upon which a certain poet made the following verſes;

Anno milleno ſexageno quoque ſeno,
Anglorum metæ flammas cenſere cometæ.

King

King William having eſtabliſhed himſelf in the crown of England, paſſed over the next year to Normandy, ſo to ſettle affairs there, as afterwards they might have no need of his preſence. In the mean while Edgar Edeling taking advantage of his abſence, returned from Scotland to York, being declared king by the inhabitants of the country, who had already ſlain Robert, upon whom William had beſtowed that earldom with nine hundred of his men. But the king upon his return from Normandy, preſently marched to the North, and having ſufficiently revenged himſelf upon the inhabitants, by waſting and deſtroying their country, chaſed Edgar to Scotland again. The like advantage Edric Sylvaticus the ſon of Alfric Earl of Mercia embraced, who refuſing to own any ſubmiſſion to the conqueror, took the opportunity of his departure to Normandy to fall foul upon ſuch as were appointed vicegerents and governors of the kingdom in his abſence. Whereupon Richard Fitzſcrope governor of the caſtle of Hereford, with the forces under his command ſo bitterly gauled him, by waſting and conſuming his lands, and carrying off the goods of his tenants, that he was compelled to deſire aid of Blethyn and Rywalhon princes of Wales, by whoſe help, to recompence the loſs he had received, he paſſed into Hereford, and after that he had over-run and pillaged the country to Wyebridge, returned back with exceeding great booty. But no ſooner were Blethyn and Rywalhon arrived in North Wales, but they received news of a rebellion raiſed againſt them by Meredith and Ithel the ſons of Gruffydh ap Lhewelyn, who had drawn together a conſiderable number of men, upon pretence of recovering the principality of North Wales, which they ſaid was fraudulently detained from them. Blethyn and Rywalhon did not delay to march to find the enemies, and meeting with them at a place called Mechain, without any farther ceremonies, ſet upon the rebels, who behaved themſelves ſo gallantly, that after a fight of ſeveral hours, they wanted nothing but number to compleat the victory. There fell in this battle on the one ſide A.D. 1066.

Prince Rywalhon, and on the other Ithel, who being ſlain, Meredith was forced to give ground, and endeavour to ſave himſelf by flight, which could not ſecure him, he being narrowly purſued by Blethyn, that in fine, he was glad to eſcape to the mountains, where for want of victuals and other neceſſaries, he quickly periſhed, leaving Blethyn ap Confyn ſole Prince of North Wales and Powis. During theſe Welch diſturbances, Swane king of Denmark, and Oſburn, his brother with three hundred ſail came up the Humber, and being joined by Edgar Edeling and Earl Waltelfe, marched to York, and taking the caſtle diſpoſed of their forces to winter-quarters, betwixt the rivers of Ouſe and Trent. The king underſtanding the matter, poſted to the North; whoſe coming ſo daſhed the confederates, that they quickly diſperſed their power, and the Danes eſcaped to their ſhips, and the king having taken vengeance upon the rebellious inhabitants of the country, and upon his ſubmiſſion, having pardoned Earl Waltelfe, returned back to London.

BLETHYN AP CONFYN.

ABOUT the ſame time Caradoc ſon to Gruffydh ap Rhytherch ap Ieſtyn all this while being ſorely diſſatisfied that he could not attain to the principality of South Wales, invited over a great number of Normans, to whom he joined all the forces he could raiſe out of Gwentland, and other parts of Wales. Then ſetting upon Prince Meredith who was far too weak to encounter ſo conſiderable an army, gave him an eaſy overthrow near the river Rymhy, where Meredith was ſlain, and ſo Caradoc obtained the government of South Wales, which for a long time he had endeavoured ſiniſtriouſly to encompaſs. He had ſometime afore procured Harold to make an invaſion

upon Gruffydh ap Lhewelyn, purpoſely that himſelf might arrive at the principality of South Wales; and failing then of his expectation, he now invites over the Normans, not being willing to truſt the Engliſh any more, by reaſon that he had ſo ungratefully been baulked by Harold: ſo that it ſeems he cared not by what courſe, or by whoſe means he ſhould gain his point; though it were by the ruin and deſtruction of his country, which hitherto he had earneſtly promoted. Being at length advanced to his long expected government of South Wales, (which though not recorded, ſeems yet very probable, by reaſon that his ſon Rhytherch ap Caradoc enjoyed the ſame very ſoon after) he did not enjoy this honour long, but dying in a ſhort time after his advancement, left to ſucceed him, his ſon Rytherch ap Caradoc. At the ſame time that Caradoc carried on this rebellion in Wales, the Earls Edwyn, Marcher, and Hereward revolted from the king of England; but Edwyn ſuſpecting the ſucceſs of their affairs, and determining to retire to Malcolm king of Scotland in his journey thither was betrayed, and ſlain by his own followers. Then Marcher and Hereward betook themſelves to the Iſle of Ely, which though ſufficiently fortified, was ſo warmly beſieged by the king, that Marcher and his accomplices were in a ſhort time forced to ſurrender themſelves up priſoners; only Hereward made his eſcape to Scotland: but the king followed him ſo cloſe; and after he had received homage of Malcolm king of Scotland, returned back to England; and after a ſhort ſtay here, paſſed over to Normandy, where he received Edgar Edeling again to mercy.

The next year, the Normans having already taſted A. D. 1071. of the ſweetneſs of waſting and plundering a country, came over again to Wales; and having ſpoiled and deſtroyed Dyfed and the country of Cardigan, returned home with very great ſpoil; and the following year ſailed over again for more booty. About the ſame time, Bleythyd biſhop of St. David's died, and was ſucceeded by one Sulien. But this was not all the misfortune that befel the Welch; for Radulph Earl

of the East Angles, together with Roger Earl of Hereford and Earl Waltelpe, entered into a conſpiracy againſt King William, appointing the day of marriage between Radulph and Roger's ſiſter, which was to be ſolemnized in Eſſex; to treat of and conclude their deſign. Radulph's mother was come out of Wales, and upon that account, he invited over ſeveral of her friends and relations to the wedding; meaning chiefly by this ſeeming affection, by their help and procurement to bring over the princes and people of Wales, to favour and aſſiſt his undertaking. But King Wlliam being acquainted with the whole plot, quickly ruined all their intrigues; unexpectedly coming from Normandy ſurpriſed the conſpirators; only Radulph, who either doubted of the ſucceſs of their affairs, or elſe had intimation given him of the king's landing, before hand took ſhipping at Norwich, and fled to Denmark. Waltelpe and Roger were executed, and all the other adherents; more particularly the Welch, ſome of whom were hanged, others had
A. D. 1073. their eyes put out, and the reſt were baniſhed. Soon after, Blethyn ap Confyn Prince of Wales was baſely and treacherouſly murdered by Rhys ap Owen ap Edwyn and the gentlemen of Yſtrad Tywy, after he had reigned thirteen years: a prince of ſingular qualifications and virtues, and a great obſerver of juſtice and equity towards his ſubjects; he was very liberal and magnificent, being indeed very able, having a prodigious and almoſt an incredible eſtate, as appears by theſe verſes made upon him;

Blethyn ap Confyn bôb Cwys
Ei hûn bioedh hên Bowis.

He had four wives, by whom he had iſſue, Meredith by Haer daughter of Gylhyn, his firſt wife; Lhywarch and Cadogan by the ſecond; Madoc and Riryd by the third; and Iorwerth by his laſt.

TRAHAERN

TRAHAERN AP CARADOC.

BLETHYN being, as is ſaid, traiterouſly murdered, there was no regard had to his iſſue, as to their right of ſucceſſion; but Trahaern ap Caradoc his couſin-german being a perſon of great power and ſway in the country was unanimouſly elected Prince of North Wales, and Rhys ap Owen with Rytherch ap Caradoc did jointly govern South Wales. Trahaern indeed had none of the leaſt pretence to that principality, as having married Neſt the only ſurviving iſſue of that great prince, Gruffydh ap Lhewelyn; his two ſons Meredith and Ithel being lately ſlain in their attempt againſt Blethyn and Rywalhon. But his title could not ſecure him in his government as much as his poſſeſſion, ſince there was one ſtill living, though much regarded, who without any diſpute, was true heir and proprietor of the principality of North Wales. And this was Gruffydh ſon to Conan, ſon to Iago ap Edwal, who being informed of the death of Blethyn ap Confyn, and the advancement of Trahaern, thought this a proper time to endeavour the recovery of what was truly his right, and out of which he had been all this time moſt wrongfully excluded. Wherefore having obtained help in Ireland, where he privately ſojourned during the reign of Blethyn ap Confyn, from Encumalhon king of Ultonia, Ranalht and Mathawn two other kings of that country, he ſailed for Wales, and landed in the iſle of Angleſey, which he eaſily reduced and brought to ſubjection. At the ſame time Cynwric ap Rywalhon, a nobleman of Maeler or Bromfield was ſlain in North Wales, but how, or upon what account, is not known. But whilſt Gruffydh ap Conan endeavours to diſpoſſeſs Trahaern out of North Wales, Gronow and Lhewelyn the ſons of Cadwgan ap Blethyn having united their forces

forces with Caradoc ap Gruffydh ap Rytherch, intended to revenge the murder of their grandfather Blethyn ap Confyn, upon Rys ap Owen and Rytherch ap Caradoc, the joint rulers of South Wales. And then marching confidently to find them, both armies met together and fought at a place called Camdhwr; where after a ſore engagement, the ſons of Cadwgan at length obtained a glorious victory. In North Wales the ſame time, Gruffydh ap Conan having eſtabliſhed his poſſeſſion of the iſle of Angleſey, intended to proceed farther in the continent of Wales; to which end, having tranſported his forces over the river, encamped in the neighbouring country of Carnarvonſhire, purpoſing to reduce North Wales by degrees. Trahaern ap Caradoc being informed of this deſcent of Gruffydh's, made all poſſible ſpeed to prevent his farther progreſs; and having made all neceſſary preparations that the ſhortneſs of the opportunity would permit, he drew up his forces to Bron yr Erw, where he gave Gruffydh battle, and in fine put him to a ſhameful flight; ſo that he was glad to retire back ſafe to Angleſey.

A.D. 1074. The next year Rytherch ap Caradoc Prince of South Wales died, being murdered through the unnatural villainy of his couſin-german Meyrchaon ap Rhys ap Rytherch; after whom Rhys ap Owen obtained the ſole government of South Wales: but his enjoyment of the whole principality was not very laſting, and ſcarce at all void of trouble and vexation of war.

1075. For ſhortly after the death of Caradoc, the ſons of Cadwgan thinking they might eaſily now foil and vanquiſh one, ſeeing they had ſome time ago victoriouſly overcome both princes together, with all the forces they could raiſe, ſet upon Rhys again at a place called Gwanyffyd; who not being able to endure their number, was routed and forced to flee; however the blow was not ſo mortal, but that Rhys gathered together new levies, by the help of which he was emboldened ſtill to maintain himſelf in his principality. But Fortune which had advanced him to the crown, ſeemed now to frown at and croſs all his endeavours and undertakings

ings and being reduced to a very weak condition in the late battle, he was ſet upon by a freſh enemy, before he could have ſufficient time to recover and recruit himſelf. For Trahaern ap Caradoc Prince of North Wales, perceiving the weakneſs and inability of Rhys to make oppoſition againſt any foreign enemy that invaded his territories, thought it now very feaſible to obtain the conqueſt of South Wales, and then to annex it to his own principality of North Wales. Being egged on by theſe pleaſant imaginations, he diſpatched his army to South Wales, to fight with Rhys, who with all the forces he could poſſibly levy, as laying his whole fortune upon the event of this battle, boldly met him at Pwlhgwttic; where after a tedious fight on both ſides, Rhys having loſt the beſt part of his army, was put to flight, and ſo warmly purſued, that after long ſhifting from place to place, himſelf with his brother Howel fell at length into the hands of Caradoc ap Gruffydh, who put them both to death, in revenge of the baſe murder of Blethyn ap Conſyn, by them formerly tranſacted. The principality of South Wales being thus vacant by the death of Rhys ap Owen; Rhys ſon to Theodore, ap Eineon, ap Owen, ap Howel Dha, as lawful heir to that government, put in his claim, which being very plain and evident, ſo prevailed with the people of the country, that they unanimouſly elected him for their prince; much againſt the expectation of Trahaern ap Caradoc Prince of North Wales. The next year St. David's ſuffered greatly by ſtrangers, who landing there in a conſiderable number, A. D. 1077.
ſpoiled and deſtroyed the whole town; ſhortly after which barbarous action, Abraham biſhop of that ſee died; and then Sulien, who the year before had relinquiſhed and reſigned up that biſhoprick, was compelled to reſume it.

The government of all Wales both North and 1079.
South, had been now for a long time ſupplied by uſurpers, and forcibly detained from the right and legal inheritors; but Providence would ſuffer injuſtice to reign no longer, and therefore reſtored the rightful heirs to their principalities. Rhys ap Theodore had

actual

actual poſſeſſion of South Wales; and there wanted no more at this time, but to bring in Gruffydh ap Conan to the principality of North Wales; both theſe princes being indiſputably right and lawful heirs to their reſpective governments, as lineally deſcended from Roderic the Great, who was legal proprietor of all Wales. Gruffydh ap Conan had already reduced the iſle of Angleſey, but not being able to levy a ſufficient army from thence to oppoſe Trahaern, he invited over a great party of Iriſh and Scots, and then with his whole army joined with Rhys ap Theodore Prince of South Wales. Trahaern in like manner aſſociating to himſelf Caradoc ap Gruffydh and Mailyr the ſons of Rywalhon ap Gwyn his couſins-german, the greateſt and moſt powerful men then in Wales, drew up his forces together, with reſolution to fight them. Both armies meeting upon the mountains of Curno, a terrible and cruel battle enſued preſently thereupon; which proved the more fierce and bloody, by reaſon that both parties reſolutely referred their whole fortune to the ſucceſs of their arms; and life would prove vain if the day was loſt. But after a diſmal fight on both ſides, the victory fell at laſt to Gruffydh and Rhys, Trahaern with his couſins being all ſlain in the field; after whoſe death Gruffydh took poſſeſſion of North Wales; and ſo the rule of all Wales, after a tedious interval, was again reſtored to the right line. About the ſame time, Urgeney ap Sitſylht, a perſon of noble quality in Wales, was treacherouſly murdered by the ſons of Rhys Sais, or the Engliſhman; by which name, the Welch were accuſtomed to denominate all perſons, as either had lived any conſiderable time in England, or could fluently and handſomely ſpeak the Engliſh tongue.

GRUFFYDH

GRUFFYDH AP CONAN.

GRUFFYDH ap Conan being confirmed in the principality of North Wales, and Rhys ap Theodore in that of South Wales; there was no body that could create them any moleſtation or diſturbance upon the account of right, which was unqueſtionably juſt; ſo that they quietly enjoyed for ſome time their reſpective dominions, without apprehenſion of any other pretender. Indeed, it had ſeldom been known before, but that one of the princes was an uſurper; and particularly in North Wales, where from the time of Edwal Foel, none had legally aſcended to the crown, excepting Edwal the ſon of Meyric, eldeſt ſon to Edwal Foel, in whoſe line the undoubted title of North Wales lawfully deſcended. And the right line being now reſtored in Gruffydh ap Conan, the ſame legally continued to Lhewelyn ap Gruffydh, the laſt Prince of the Britiſh blood. But during theſe revolutions in Wales, ſome things memorable were tranſacted in England; Malcolm king of the Scots deſcending into Northumberland, ravaged and deſtroyed the country without mercy, carrying away a great number of priſoners; after which the Northumbrians fell upon Walter biſhop of Durham, whom they ſlew, together with a hundred men, whilſt he ſate keeping of court, not dreaming of any ſuch treacherous villainy. The ſame time Robert Curthoys the Baſtard's eldeſt ſon, being for ſome reaſon diſguſted againſt his father, and ſet on by the inſtigation of the king of France, entered Normandy with an army, and claimed it as his right; which King William being acquainted with, paſſed over to Normandy, and meeting with his ſon hand to hand in battle, was by him overthrown. But being returned from Normandy, he entered with a great army into Wales, and marching after the manner

ner of a pilgrimage as far as St. David's, he offered and paid his devotion to that ſaint, and afterwards received homage of the kings and princes of the country. About the ſame time the tomb of Walwey king Arthur's ſiſter's ſon, a moſt valiant perſon in his time, and governor of that country, from him called Walwethey, was diſcovered in the country of Ros, nigh the ſea-ſhore, whoſe body proved monſtrouſly prodigious, being in length about fourteen foot.

A.D. 1086. This year Madawc, Cadwgan and Riryd, the ſons of Blethyn ap Confyn ſome time Prince of Wales, raiſed a rebellion againſt Rhys ap Tewdor; and having drawn together a great number of licentious and malecontented people, thought to eject him out of the principality of South Wales. Rhys had not power and forces enough to oppoſe them; the rebels' army increaſing daily by the addition of the diſcontented multitude, who always rejoice at any new commotion or diſturbance; and therefore he was compelled to retire to Ireland, where he obtained a very conſiderable party of Iriſh and Scots, upon promiſe of a ſufficient reward, in caſe he was reſtored again to his principality. Having by this meaſure got a very ſenſible increaſe to his former ſtrength, he landed in South Wales; the news of whoſe arrival being blazed abroad, his friends from all quarters preſently retired to him; ſo that in a ſhort time his army became numerous, and able to confront the enemy. The rebels were ſenſible how the Prince's forces daily multiplied, and therefore to prevent any farther addition, they made all poſſible haſte to force him to a battle, which in a ſhort time after happened at Lhech y Creu, where the rebels were vanquiſhed; Madawc and Riryd being ſlain, and Cadwgan glad to ſave his life by flight. Rhys having won ſo ſignal a victory, and fearing no farther diſturbance diſmiſſed the Iriſh and Scots with great rewards, who honourably returned to their

1087. own country. Within a while after, an unaccountable ſacrilege was committed at St. David's; the ſhrine belonging to the cathedral, being felonioufly conveyed out of the church, all the plate and other utenſils

were

were ſtolen, and only the ſhrine left empty behind. The ſame year a civil war broke out in England, and ſeveral armies in ſeveral parts of the kingdom were up in arms at the ſame time, and among the reſt the Welch, who entering into Gloceſter and Worceſter ſhires, burnt and deſtroyed all before them, to the gate of Worceſter. The king having drawn his army together, proceeded againſt his enemies by degrees, and falling upon their ſeparate parties, without any great difficulty, reduced all to obedience. With- A. D. 1089.
in two years after, Archbiſhop Sulien, the moſt pious and learned perſon in Wales, died, in the eightieth year of his age, and in the ſixteenth year of his biſhoprick; preſently after whoſe death the town of St. David's ſuffered a more ſenſile calamity, being firſt plundered, and afterwards burnt by a company of pyrates, who ſorely infeſted the Britiſh coaſts. About the ſame time alſo died Cadifor the ſon of Calhoyn Lord of Dyfed, whoſe ſons Lhewelyn and Eineon moved Gruffydh ap Meredith to take up arms againſt his ſovereign Prince Rhys ap Tewdor, with whom they joined all the forces they could levy among their tenants and dependants; then paſſing with their army to Lhandydoch, boldly challenged Rhys to fight; who thereupon gave them battle, and after a reſolute engagement of both ſides, the rebels were at length worſted, and put to flight, and then ſo narrowly purſued, that Gruffydh ap Meredith was taken priſoner, and in fine executed as a traitor: but Eineon made his eſcape, and not daring to truſt himſelf with any of his own kindred, he fled to Ieſtyn ap Gurgant, Lord of Morgannwc, who was then in actual rebellion againſt Prince Rhys. And to ingratiate himſelf the more in Ieſtyn's favour, he promiſed, upon condition of the performance of certain articles, one of which more eſpecially was, That he ſhould receive his daughter in matrimony; that he would bring over to his aid a conſiderable body of Normans, with whom he was ſingularly acquainted, as having ſerved a long time in England. Theſe articles being agreed to and recorded, Eineon poſted to England, and in a little time

time brought matters ſo about, that he prevailed with Robert Fitzhamon and twelve more knights, to levy a ſtrong army of Normans, and to come to Wales to
A. D. 1090. the protection and aid of Ieſtyn. The beginning of the following year they landed in Glamorganſhire, and were honourably received by Ieſtyn, who joining his power to theirs, marched to Prince Rhys's dominions, where, without the leaſt ſhew of mercy to his own countrymen, he encouraged the Normans, by his own example, to ſpoil and deſtroy all that came before them. Prince Rhys was mightily grieved to find his country ſo unmercifully haraſſed; and though at this time very antient, being above ninety-eight years of age, he could not refrain but meet his enemies; and having with all poſſible ſpeed raiſed a convenient army; he met with them near Brecknock, where after a terrible fight, and a great ſlaughter on both ſides, he was unhappily ſlain. With him fell the glory and grandeur of the principality of South Wales, being afterwards rent in pieces, and divided into ſeveral parts and piece-meals among the Norman captains, as ſhall be by and by more particularly related. Prince Rhys left iſſue behind him by the daughter of Rywalhon ap Confyn, two ſons, Gruffydh and Grono, the latter of which was detained priſoner by the king of England; though the author of the winning of the lordſhip of Glamorgan, affirms, that he was ſlain, together with his father, in this battle againſt the Normans.

The Normans having received a ſufficient reward from Ieſtyn, upon the account of their ſervice againſt Prince Rhys, returned to their ſhips, in order to their voyage homeward. But before they could looſe anchor to ſail off, Eineon recalled them, being ungratefully affronted by Ieſtyn, who abſolutely refuſed to make good to him the conditions which they had agreed upon, before the Normans were invited to Wales. Upon this account, Eineon was ſo irreconcilably incenſed againſt Ieſtyn, that to be revenged upon him, he was willing to ſacrifice his native country into the hands of ſtrangers; and therefore endeavoured to perſuade the Normans concerning the fatneſs and fertility

fertility of the country, and how eaſily they might conquer and make themſelves maſters of it. But he needed not many arguments to perſuade a people that were willing of themſelves, eſpecially being encouraged thereto by a perſon of ſome eſteem in the country; whereupon, without any more queſtions, they preſently fell to their buſineſs; and from friends became unexpectedly foes. Ieſtyn was much ſurpriſed to find the Normans, whom he had but lately honourably diſmiſſed from his ſervice, and as he thought, with ſatisfaction, ſo ſoon become his enemies; but perceiving a ſerpent in the hedge, and Eineon ſo amicably great among them, he quickly gueſſed at the reaſon, of which there was no other remedy left but to bewail the unneceſſary folly of his own knavery. The Normans eaſily diſpoſſeſſed Ieſtyn of the whole lordſhip of Glamorgan; the moſt pleaſant and fertile part of which they divided among themſelves; leaving the more mountainous and craggy ground to the ſhare of Eineon. The knights who accompanied Fitzhamon in this expedition were, William de Londres or London; Richard de Grena villa, or Greenfield; Paganus de Turberville; Robert de S. Quintino, or Quintin; Richard de Sywarde; Gilbert de Humfrevile; Roger de Berkrolles; Reginald de Sully; Peter le Soore; John le Fleming; Oliver de S. John; William de Eſterling, or Stradling. Theſe perſons having diſtributed that fair and pleaſant lordſhip among themſelves, and conſidering that they were much better provided for here than they could be at home, ſettled in Glamorgan, where their poſterity have continued to this time. And here we may obſerve, what a train of circumſtances concurred together, in favour of the Normans, having poſſeſſion of this lordſhip: for had not Eineon, being vanquiſhed by Prince Rhys, fled to Ieſtyn, rather than to another; or had not Ieſtyn been ſo vain as to attempt the conqueſt of South Wales, and to that end conſented to the advice of Eineon; there had been no neceſſity of inviting the Normans at all to Wales. And then, the Normans being arrived, had not Ieſtyn ungenteely violated his promiſe, and refuſed to perform

the articles agreed upon between him and Eineon; or had not Eineon purſued ſo deſperate revenge, but ſatisfied his paſſion upon Ieſtyn, without prejudice to his country; the Normans would have returned home with ſatisfaction, and conſequently could never have been proprietors of that noble country they then forcibly poſſeſſed. And now again the Welch experienced the dangerous conſequence of calling in a foreign nation to their aid; the Saxons had already diſpoſſeſſed them of the beſt part of the iſland of Britain, and now the Normans ſeized upon a great part of that ſmall country, which had eſcaped the ſovereignty and conqueſt of the Engliſh. But here it will be neceſſary to lay down the ſtate and condition of this lordſhip of Morgannwc or Glamorgan, and what ſhare each particular knight obtained in the diſtribution of it.

The lordſhip of Glamorgan reaches in length twenty-ſeven miles, even from Rymny bridge to the eaſt, to Pwlh Conan weſtward; and in breadth from Aberthaw, otherwiſe Aberdaon on the ſouth part, to the confines of Brecknockſhire above Morley's caſtle, twenty-two miles. This being a royal lordſhip, the lords thereof owing no other ſubjection than obedience only to the crown, aſſumed to themſelves all the privileges of a regal court, excepting only the pardoning of criminals in caſe of treaſon. And not only Glamorgan, but the ſeveral petty lordſhips of which it conſiſted, namely, Sengennyth, Myſcyn, Ruthin, Lhanblethian, Tir Iarlh, Glyn Rothney, Avan, Neth, Coyty, Talavan, and Lantuit or Boviarton; exerciſed the ſame privilege of Jura Regalia, with this difference only, that in caſe of wrong judgment in theſe courts, appeal might be made in the county-court of Glamorgan, which being ſuperior to the reſt, had power to reverſe any judgment given in them. Within this lordſhip were eighteen caſtles, and thirty-ſix knight's fees; beſides the town and caſtle of Kynfig, the town of Cowbridge or Pont Vaen, and the town and caſtle of Caerdaf; in the latter of which the lord of Glamorgan chiefly reſided

ſided, wherein the county-court was monthly kept. The annual revenue of this lordſhip amounted to a thouſand marks; whereof four hundred was allowed for the fees and ſalary of the ſeveral officers belonging to the ſame. This lordſhip of Glamorgan Robert Fitzhamon kept to himſelf; and the others he diſtributed between his ſeveral followers; namely, to William de Londres he gave the caſtle and manor of Ogmore: to Richard Greenfield the lordſhip of Neth; to Paine Turberville that of Coyty; to Robert S. Quintine Lhan Blethyan; to Richard Syward Talavan; to Gilbert Humfrevile the caſtle and manor of Penmarc; to Reginald Sully the caſtle and manor of Sully; to Roger Berkrolles that of Eaſt Orchard; to Peter le Soor that of Peterton; to John Fleming that of S. George; to John S. John that of Fonmon or Fenvon; and laſtly, to William le Eſterling or Stradling that of S. Donats. But that theſe knights ſhould have dependence upon, and might ſeem to hold their ſeveral lordſhips and eſtate from him; Robert Fitzhamon appointed them their ſeveral apartments in his caſtle of Caerdaf, where they were obliged to give their attendance at every court-day, which was monthly kept upon Monday.

But about the ſame time that Robert Fitzhamon took the lordſhip of Glamorgan, Barnard Newmarch, a nobleman likewiſe of Normandy, obtained by conqueſt the lordſhip of Brecknock; and Henry de Newburgh ſon to Roger de Bellemont, by the Conqueror made Earl of Warwick, the country of Gower. But Barnard Newmarch gave the people of Wales ſome ſmall ſatisfaction and content, by marrying Neſt, the daughter alſo of Neſt, daughter to Lhewelyn ap Gruffydh Prince of Wales, by whom he had iſſue, a ſon called Mahael. This worthy gentleman being legally to ſucceed his father in the lordſhip of Brecknock, was afterwards diſinherited by the malice and baſeneſs of his own unnatural mother. The occaſion was thus, Neſt happening to fall in admiration of a certain knight, with whom ſhe had more than ordinary familiarity, even beyond what ſhe expreſt to her own

huſband; Mahael perceiving her diſſolute and looſe behaviour, counſelled her to take care of her fame and reputation, and to leave off that ſcandalous liberty which ſhe took: and afterwards meeting caſually her gallant coming from her, fought and grievouſly wounded him. Upon this Neſt to be revenged upon her ſon, went to Henry the firſt, king of England, and in his preſence took her corporal oath, that her ſon Mahael was illegitimate, and not begot by Barnard Newmarch her huſband, but another perſon; by virtue of which oath or rather perjury, Mahael was diſinherited, and his ſiſter, whom her mother atteſted to be legitimate, was beſtowed by the king upon Milo, the ſon of Walter Conſtable, afterward Earl of Hereford, who in right of his wife enjoyed the whole eſtate of Barnard Newmarch lord of Brecknock. Of this Milo it is reported, that telling King Henry of a ſtrange accident which had occurred to him by Lhyn Savathan in Wales, where the birds upon the pond at the paſſing by of Gruffydh the ſon of Rhys ap Theodor, ſeemed by their chirping to be in a manner overjoyed; the king replied, It was not ſo wonderful; for although, ſays he, manifeſtly we have violently and injuriouſly oppreſſed that nation, yet it is known, that they are the lawful and original inheritors of that country.

But whilſt the Normans were thus carving for themſelves in Glamorgan and Brecknock, Cadogan ap Blethyn ap Confyn towards the end of April entered into Dyved, and having ravaged and deſtroyed the country, returned back. But within eight weeks after, there ſucceeded him a more fatal enemy; for the Normans landing in Dyved and Cardigan, began to fortify themſelves in caſtles and other ſtrong places, and to inhabit the country upon the ſea-ſhore, which before was not in their poſſeſſion. Indeed the Normans having by the connivance of the Conqueror already got into their hands all the beſt eſtates in England, began now to ſpy out the commodities of Wales; and perceiving moreover how bravely Robert Fitzhamon and Barnard Newmarch had ſped there, thought they

they might as well expect the like fortune. Wherefore having obtained a grant from King William (who readily conſented to their requeſt, becauſe by this means he killed two birds with one ſtone, procured to himſelf their utmoſt ſervice upon occaſion, and withal provided for them without any charge to himſelf) they came to Wales, and ſo entered upon the eſtates appointed them by the king, which they held of him by knight-ſervice, having firſt done homage and ſworn fealty for the ſame. Roger Montgomery Earl of Arundel did homage for the lordſhips of Powis and Cardigan; Hugh Lupus Earl of Cheſter for Tegengl and Ryfonioc, together with all the land lying upon the ſea-ſhore to the river Conwey; Arnulph a younger ſon of Roger Montgomery for Dyved; Barnard Newmarch for Brecknock; Ralph Mortimer for Eluel; Hugh de Lacy for the land of Ewyas; Euſtace Omer for Mold and Hapredale; and ſeveral others did the like homage for other lands. But Roger Montgomery, who by the Conqueror was created Earl of Arundel and Shrewſbury, entered in an hoſtile manner into Powis-land, and having won the caſtle and town of Baldwyn, fortified it in his own right, and called it Montgomery after his own name. King William of England was now in Normandy, and buſily engaged in a war againſt his brother Robert; by the advantage of whoſe abſence, Gruffydh ap Conan Prince of North Wales, and Cadogan ap Blethyn, who now ruled in South Wales, with joint force entered into Cardigan and ſlew a great number of Normans, whoſe pride and exceſſive cruelties towards the Welch, were altogether intolerable. But after ſufficient execution there, being returned home, the Normans ſent for more aid from England; which being arrived, they thought to make a private in-road into North Wales, and ſo to be revenged upon the Welch. But their deſign being happily diſcovered to Cadogan, he drew up his forces to meet them, and then unexpectedly ſetting upon them in the foreſt of Yſpys, after a very warm reſiſtment of the Normans ſide, forced them to retire by flight, and then triumphantly marching through Cardigan and

Dyved, he deſtroyed all the caſtles and fortifications in the country, beſides Pembrock and Rydcors, which proved too ſtrong, and impregnable.

A. D. 1093. The next year the Normans who inhabited the country of Glamorgan fell upon and deſtroyed the countries of Gwyr, Kidwely, and Yſtrad Tywy, which they harraſſed in ſuch a cruel manner, that they left them bare of any people to inhabit. And to increaſe as it was thought, the miſeries of the Welch, King William Rufus being informed of the great ſlaughter which Gruffydh ap Conan, and the ſons of Blethyn ap Confyn had lately committed upon the Engliſh, as well within Cheſhire, Shropſhire, Worceſterſhire, and Herefordſhire, as within Wales; entered the country at Montgomery, which place the Welch having ſometime ſince demoliſhed, King William lately rebuilt. But the Welch kept all the paſſages through the woods and rivers, and all other ſtreights ſo cloſe, that the King could effect nothing conſiderable againſt them; and therefore when he perceived that his labour was but loſt, in continuing in thoſe parts, he forthwith decamped, and returned with no great honour back to

1094. England. But this retreat of King William was not altogether ſo favourable to the intereſt of the Welch, as the death of William Fitz-Baldwyn, who was owner of the caſtle of Rydcors, and did the greateſt miſchief and hurt to the South Wales men of any other. He being dead, the garriſon of Rydcors which was wont to keep the Welch in continual awe, forſook that place, and by that means gave opportunity to the inhabitants of Gwyr, Brecknock, Gwent, and Gwentlhwc, to ſhake off that intolerable yoke the Normans forced upon them, who after they had robbed them of their lands, kept them in perpetual ſubjection. But now William Fitz Baldwyn being dead, and the garriſon of Rydcors ſcattered, they ventured to lay violent hands upon the Normans, who thought themſelves free from all fear; and prevailed ſo ſucceſsfully, that they drove them all out of the country, and recovered their own antient eſtates. But the Normans liked that country ſo well, that they were reſolved not

to

to be ſo eaſily befooled out of what they had with a great deal of pains and danger once poſſeſſed; and therefore having drawn a great number of Engliſh and Normans to their aid, they were deſirous to venture another touch with the Welch, and to return if poſſible, to their once acquired habitations. But the Welch ſo abhorred their pride and tyrannical dominion over them when they were maſters, that they were reſolved not to be ſubject to ſuch tyrants again; and therefore they boldly met them at a place called Celly Iarfawc, and ſet upon them ſo manfully, the very apprehenſion of ſervitude whetting their ſpirits, that they put them to flight with great ſlaughter, and drove them out of the country. The Normans however were not ſo abſolutely routed with this overthrow: but like a fly in the night which deſtroys itſelf in the candle, they muſt needs covet their own deſtruction; their greedineſs egging them on to venture with few, what was not practicable to be effected by many. Therefore on they came as far as Brecknock, with this abſolute vow and reſolution not to leave one living thing remaining in that country. But they fell ſhort of their policy, the people of the country being removed to a narrow ſtreight, to expect their paſſing through; whither the Normans being advanced, they fell upon them, and killed a great number of them. About the ſame time, Roger Montgomery Earl of Salop and Arundel, William Fitzeauſtace Earl of Gloceſter, Arnold de Harecourt, and Neal le Vicount, were ſlain by the Welch between Caerdaf and Brecknock; and Walter Eureux Earl of Sarum, Roſmer, and Mantilake; Hugh earl of Gourney, were wounded, who afterwards died in Normandy. The Normans finding that they continually loſt ground, thought it not adviſeable to ſtay any longer; and therefore having placed ſufficient garriſons in thoſe caſtles which they had formerly built, they returned with what ſpeed they could to England. But all the haſte they did make, could not ſecure them from the fury of the Welch; for Gruffydh and Ifor, the ſons of Ednerth

ap Cadogan, expected them privately at a place called Aberlhech, where falling unexpectedly upon them; they slew the greatest part of their number, the rest narrowly escaping safe to England. But the Norman garrisons which were left behind, defended themselves with a great deal of bravery, till at last, finding no prospect of relief, they were forced for their own safety to deliver them up to the Welch, who from that time, became again proprietors of those places which the Normans had dispossed them from. And this encouraged the Welch to undertake other things against the English; for immediately after this, certain of the nobility of North-Wales, Uchthed the son of Edwyn ap Grono by name, together with Howel ap Grono, and the sons of Cadogan ap Blethyn of Powys-land, passed by Cardigan into Dyved (which country King William had given to Arnulph son to Roger Montgomery, who had built thereon the castle of Pembrock, and appointed Gerald de Windsore governour of the same) and destroying all the country with fire and sword, excepting Pembrock castle, which was impregnable, they returned home with a great deal of booty. In recompence of this, when the lords of North-Wales were returned, Gerald issued out of the castle, and spoiled all the country about S. Davids; and after he had got sufficient plunder, and taken divers prisoners returned back into the castle.

A. D. 1095. The year following, King William returned from Normandy, and having heard how that the Welch had cut off a great number of his subjects in Wales, gathered all his power together, and with great pomp and ostentation entered the marshes, resolving utterly to eradicate the rebellious and implacable humour of the Welch nation. But after all this boast and seeming resolution, he durst venture no farther than the marshes, where having built some few castles, he returned with no greater ho-

1096. nour than he came. But the next Spring, Hugh de Montgomery earl of Arundel and Salop, by the Welch named

named Hugh Goch, and Hugh Fras, or the Fat, Earl of Cheſter, being invited by ſome diſaffected Welch lords, came into North Wales with a very great army. Prince Gruffydh ap Conan, and Cadogan ap Blethyn, perceiving themſelves to be too weak to oppoſe ſo numerous an army, and what was worſe, being very ſuſpicious of the fidelity and honeſty of their own forces, thought it their beſt way to take the hills and mountains for their ſafety, where they were like to remain moſt ſecure from the enemy. Then the Engliſh army marched towards Angleſey, and being come over againſt the iſland, they built the caſtle of Aberlhiennawc. But Gruffydh and Cadogan could no longer endure to ſee their country over-run by the Engliſh, and therefore they deſcended from the mountains, and came to Angleſey, thinking, with what ſuccours they ſhould receive from Ireland, of which they were diſappointed, to be able to defend the iſland from any attempt that ſhould be made upon it. And now the whole reaſon, and the occaſion of the Engliſh coming to Wales was diſcovered; for Owen ap Edwyn, the Prince's chiefeſt counſellor, whoſe daughter Gruffydh had married (having himſelf alſo married Everyth the daughter of Conſyn, aunt to Cadogan) upon ſome private grudge or other, called in the Engliſh into Wales, and at this time openly joined his forces with theirs, and led the whole army over into Angleſey. Gruffydh and Cadogan finding how they were betrayed by their deareſt friend, as they thought; for fear of farther treachery, judged it prudent to ſail privately for Ireland; after whoſe departure, the Engliſh fell cruelly to work, deſtroying all they could come at, without any reſpect to either age or ſex.

And whilſt the Engliſh continued in Angleſey, Magnus the ſon of Harold, lately King of England, came over with a great fleet, intending to lay faſter hold upon that kingdom, than his father had done, and to recover the ſame to himſelf. But whilſt he ſteered his courſe thitherward, he was driven by contrary winds to the coaſts of Angleſey, where he would fain have

have landed, had not the Engliſh army kept him off. But in this ſkirmiſh Magnus accidentally wounded Hugh Earl of Salop with an arrow in the face, where. of he died; and then of a ſudden both armies relinquiſhed the iſland, the Engliſh returning to England,
A. D. 1097 appointing Owen ap Edwyn, who invited them over, prince of the country. But Owen did not enjoy the principality long; for in the beginning of the following ſpring, Gruffydh ap Conan and Cadogan ap Blethyn teturned from Ireland, and having concluded a peace with the Normans, for ſome part of their lands in Wales; Gruffydh remained in Angleſey, and Cadogan had Cardigan, with part of Powis. But though Cadogan recovered his eſtate, yet in a little while after he loſt his ſon Lhewelyn, who was treacherouſly murdered by the men of Brecnock: at which time alſo died Rythmarch archbiſhop of S. David's, the ſon of Sulien, being in the forty-third year of his age; a man of the greateſt piety, wiſdom, and learning, as had flouriſhed a long time in Wales, excepting his father, under whoſe tutelage he was educated. The year
1098. following, King William Rufus, as he was hunting in the new forreſt, was accidentally ſlain with an arrow, which one Walter Tyrrel ſhot at a ſtag; and his eldeſt brother being then engaged in the holy war, Henry his younger brother, whom in his life-time he had nominated his ſucceſſor, was crowned in his ſtead. The ſame year, Hugh Earl of Cheſter, Grono ap Cadogan, and Gwyn ap Gruffydh departed this life.

1100. About two years after, a rebellion broke out in England; Robert de Beleſmo, the ſon of Roger de Montgomery Earl of Salop, and Arnulph his brother Earl of Pembrock, took up arms againſt king Henry; which he being informed of, ſent them a very gracious meſſage to come before him, and declare their grievances, and the reaſon of their riſing up in arms againſt his Majeſty. But the Earls inſtead of appearing in perſon, ſent him ſlight and frivolous excuſes, and in the mean while made all neceſſary preparations for the war, both by raiſing of forces, and fortifying

fortifying their caſtles and ſtrong holds. And to ſtrengthen themſelves the more, they ſent rich preſents, and made large promiſes to Iorwerth, Cadogan, and Meredith, the ſons of Blethyn ap Confyn; for to bring them to their ſide. Robert fortified four caſtles, namely, Arundel, Tekinhil, Shrewſbury, and Brugge; which laſt, by reaſon that Robert built it without the conſent of the king, was the chief occaſion of this war; and Arnulph fortified his caſtle at Pembrock. After this, they entered in an hoſtile manner into the territories of the king of England, waſting and deſtroying all before them. And to augment their ſtrength, Arnulph ſent Gerald his ſteward, to Murkart King of Ireland, deſiring his daughter in wedlock; which was eaſily granted, with the promiſe too of great ſuccours and large ſupplies. King Henry, to put a ſtop to their bold adventures, marched in perſon againſt them; and laying ſiege to the caſtle of Arundel, won it without any great oppoſition; and quickly afterwards the caſtle of Tekinhill; but that of Brugge, by reaſon of the ſituation of the place, and the depth of the ditch about it, ſeemed to require longer time and harder ſervice; and therefore King Henry was adviſed to ſend privately to Iorwerth ap Blethyn, promiſing him great rewards if he forſook the earl's part, and came over to him; urging to him, what miſchief Roger, earl Robert's father, and his brother Hugh, had continually done to the Welch-men. And to make him the more willing to accept of his propoſals, he promiſed to give him all ſuch lands as the earl and his brother had in Wales, without either tribute or homage; which was a part of Powys, Cardigan, and half Dyfed; the other part being in the poſſeſſion of William Fitz-Baldwyn. Iorwerth receiving theſe offers, accepted of them very gladly, and then coming to the king, he ſent all his forces to earl Robert's lands, who having received very ſtrict orders, deſtroyed without mercy every thing they met with; and what made the ſpoil the greater, earl Robert upon his rebelling againſt King Henry, had cauſed his people to con-

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vey all their goods to Wales, for fear of the Engliſh; not thinking how his father's memory founded among the Welch. But when the News of Iorwerth's revolt reached the ears of the earl, Cadogan and Meredith, Iorwerth's brothers; their ſpirits began to faint, as deſpairing any longer to oppoſe the king, ſince Iorwerth, who was the perſon of greateſt ſtrength in Wales, had left and forſaken them. Arnulph was gone to Ireland to fetch home his wife, and to bring over what ſuccour his father-in-law, King Murkart, could afford to ſend him; but he not coming in time, ſome other method was to be tried, how to get ſome aid againſt the Engliſh. A little before this rebellion broke out, Magnus, Harold's ſon, landed the ſecond time in the iſle of Angleſey, and being kindly received by Gruffydh ap Conan, he had leave to cut down what timber he had need for; and ſo returning to the Iſle of Man, which he had got by conqueſt, he built there three caſtles, and then ſent to Ireland to have the daughter of Murkart in marriage to his ſon, which being obtained, he created him king of Man, earl Robert hearing this, ſent to Magnus for aid againſt king Henry; but receiving none, he thought it now high time to look to his own ſafety; and therefore he ſent to the king, requeſting that he might quietly depart the kingdom, in caſe he ſhould lay down his arms; which the king having granted, he ſailed to Normandy. And then king Henry ſent an expreſs to his brother Arnulph, requiring him either to follow his brother out of the kingdom, or to deliver himſelf up to his mercy; and ſo Arnulph went over alſo for Normandy. When the king was returned to London, Iorwerth took his brother Meredith priſoner, and committed him to the king's cuſtody; his other brother Cadogan having reconciled himſelf beforehand, to whom Iorwerth gave Cardigan, with a part of Powys. Then Iorwerth went to London, to put the king in mind of his promiſe, and the ſervice he had done him againſt earl Robert; but the king finding now all matters at quiet, was deaf to all

all ſuch remembrances, and inſtead of promiſing what he had once voluntarily propoſed, againſt all rules of equity and gratitude, he took away Dyfed from Iorwerth, and gave it to a knight of his own, called Saer; and Stratywy Cydwely, and Gwyr he beſtowed upon Howel ap Grono, and ſent Iorwerth away more empty than he came: nor was this ſufficient reward for his former ſervices; but the next year King Henry muſt ſend ſome of his counſel A. D. 1101. to Shrewſbury, and cite Iorwerth to appear there, under pretence of conſulting about the king's buſineſs and affairs of thoſe parts. But the plot was laid deeper; and when without any ſuſpicion of treachery he made his appearance, he was ſurprizedly attainted of high treaſon, and then contrary to all right and juſtice actually condemned to perpetual impriſonment; the true reaſon of this unparalleled ſeverity being, the king feared his ſtrength, and was apprehenſive that he would revenge the wrong and affront he received at his hands. And indeed, well had he reaſon to fear that, when he ſo ungratefully treated him, whoſe ſervice he had experienced to be ſo greatly advantageous to him. But the policy of Princes is unaccountable; and whether to value an eminent perſon for his ſervice, or to fear him for his greatneſs, is a ſubject that frequently diſturbs their moſt ſettled conſiderations. But the noblemen that were at this time ſent by the king to Shrewſbury, were Richard de Belmerſh, who being chief agent about Roger Montgomery earl of Salop, was prefered to the biſhoprick of London, and afterwards appointed by this king, to be warden of the marſhes, and governour of the county of Salop. With him were joined in company, Walter Conſtable, the father of Milo, earl of Hereford, and Rayner the king's lieutenant in the county of Salop. About this time, as Bale writes, the church of Menevia or S. Davids, began to be ſubject to the ſee of Canterbury, being always afore the metropolitan church of all Wales.

Shortly

A.D. 1102. Shortly after this, Owen ap Edwyn, who had been author of no ſmall miſchief and diſturbance to the Welch, in moving the Engliſh againſt his natural prince, and ſon-in-law Gruffydh ap Conan, departed this life, after a tedious and miſerable ſickneſs; of which he was ſo much the leſs pitied, by how much he had proved an enemy and a traitor to his native country. He was the ſon of Grono, by his wife Edelflede the widow of Edmund, ſurnamed Ironſide, king of England; and had the title of Iegengl; though the Engliſh, when they had compelled Gruffydh ap Conan to flee to Ireland for ſafety, conſtituted him prince of all North Wales. After his death, Richard Fitz-Baldwyn laid ſiege to, and took the caſtle of Rydcors, and forcibly drove Howel ap Grono, to whom king Henry had committed the cuſtody of it, out of the country. But Howel quickly returned, and with a high ſpirit of revenge, began to deſtroy and burn whatſoever he could meet with, and then meeting a party of the Normans in their return homewards, he fell upon the flank of them with a very conſiderable ſlaughter; and ſo brought all the country to his ſubjection, excepting ſome few garriſons and caſtles which would not ſurrender to him. The ſame time King Henry took away from Saer the government of Dyfed, which formerly was Iorwerth ap Blethyn's, and beſtowed it upon Gerald, who had been ſome time earl Arnulph's ſteward in thoſe parts; and therefore by reaſon of his knowledge of the country, was in all probability beſt able to take upon him the management of it. But the Normans in Rydcors caſtle being ſenſible that they were not able to effect any thing againſt Howel ap Grono in open field, after their accuſtomed manner, began to put that in execution by treachery, which they could not compaſs by force of arms. And how to make Howel a ſacrifice to thoſe Normans he had lately ſlain, they could find no ſafer way than by corrupting one Gwgan ap Meyric, a man in great favour and eſteem with Howel, upon the account chiefly that one of his children was nurſed by Gwgan's wife.

wife. This ungrateful villain, to carry on his wicked intrigue the more unſuſpected, gave Howel a very earneſt invitation to his houſe to a merriment, where, without any ſuſpicion of treachery, being come, he was welcomed with all the ſeeming affection and kindneſs imaginable. But no ſooner was he ſettled, A. D. 1103. but Gwgan gave notice thereof to the Norman garriſons; and therefore by break of day they entered the town, and coming about the houſe where Howel lay in bed, they preſently gave a great ſhout. Howel hearing the noiſe, ſuſpected ſomething of miſchief, and therefore leaping in all haſte out of bed, he made to his weapons, but could not find them, by reaſon that Gwgan had conveyed them away whilſt he was aſleep. And now being aſſured of treachery in the caſe, and finding that his men had fled for their lives, he endeavoured all he could to make his eſcape; but Gwgan and his company were too quick for him; and ſo being ſecured, they ſtrangled him, and delivered his body to the Normans, who having cut off his head, conveyed it to the caſtle of Rydcors. This moſt villainous murder, ſo barbarouſly committed upon the king's lieutenant, was not in the leaſt taken notice of; for King Henry was ſo unreaſonably prejudiced in favour of the Normans, that whatever miſdemeanor, be it of never ſo high a nature, was by them committed, it was preſently winked at, and let fall to the ground; whereas, if the Welch treſpaſſed but againſt the leaſt injunction of the king's laws, they were moſt ſeverely puniſhed: which was the cauſe that they afterwards ſtood up againſt the king in their own defence, being by experience aſſured, that he minded nothing more than their utter deſtruction.

About this time Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, convened a ſynod at London, wherein among other injunctions then decreed, the celibacy of the clergy was enjoined; marriage being before ever allowed of in Britain, to them in holy orders. But this new injunction created a great deal of heat and animoſity among the clergy, ſome approving of it as

as reaſonable and orthodoxical; others condemning it, as an innovation, and contrary to the plain letter of ſcripture. But during theſe diſputes between the clergy, king Henry being now in the fifth year of his reign, ſailed over with a great army into Normandy, where his brother Robert, together with Robert de Beleſmo, Arnulph, and William earl of Mortaign, gave him battle; but the king having obtained the victory, took the duke his brother, with William of Mortaign, priſoners; and carrying them into England, he cauſed firſt his brother Robert's eyes to be plucked out, and then condemned them both to perpetual impriſonment in the caſtle of Cardyff.

A.D. 1104. About the ſame time Meyric and Gruffydh, the ſons of Trahaern ap Caradoc were both ſlain by the means of Owen ap Cadogan ap Blethyn; whoſe uncle Meredith ap Blethyn, who had been priſoner for a long time in England, now broke open the priſon, wherein he was very narrowly confined; and returning to his own country, had his eſtate reſtored, which afterwards he quietly enjoyed.

1105. The next year a very diſmal and calamitous accident happening in the Low-countries, proved very incommodious and prejudicial to the Welch; for a great part of Flanders being drowned by the overflowing of the ſea, the inhabitants were compelled to ſeek for ſome other country to dwell in, their own being now covered with water. And therefore a great many being come over to England, they requeſted of King Henry to aſſign them ſome part of his kingdom which was empty and void of inhabitants, where they might ſettle and plant themſelves. The king taking advantage of this charitable opportunity, and being in a manner aſſured, that theſe Flemings would be a conſiderable thorn in the ſide of the Welch, beſtowed upon them very liberally what was not juſtly in his power to give; and appointed them the country of Ros, in Dyfed or Weſt-Wales, where they continue to this day. But Gerald the king's lieutenant in thoſe parts, was reſolved to be afore-hand with them, and rebuilt the caſtle of Pembrock,

Pembrock, in a place called Congarth Fechan; whither he removed his family and all his goods. But here a very unfortunate accident happened to him; for Cadwgan ap Blethyn having prepared a ſumptuous feaſt in the Chriſtmas, invited all the lords to his country-houſe in Dyfed, and among the reſt his ſon Owen, who lived in Powis. This young gentleman being at his father's houſe, and hearing Neſt the wife of Gerald univerſally praiſed for her incomparable beauty, was ſo ſmitten with the rumour that went abroad of her, that by all means he muſt ſee the lady, who was by all ſo much admired. And foraſmuch as Gwladys, wife to Rhys ap Theodore, and mother to Neſt, was the daughter of Rywalhon ap Conſyn, couſin-german to Cadwgan his father; under pretence of friendſhip and relation, he made bold to pay her a viſit. But finding the truth far to ſurpaſs the fame that went of her, he returned home ſo inflamed with her charms, that not being able to keep the maſtery over himſelf, he went back again the ſame night, and being attended by a company of wild, head-ſtrong youths, they privily entered into the caſtle, and encompaſſing the chamber about, where Gerald and his wife lay, they ſet the houſe on fire. Gerald hearing a noiſe, would fain go out to know the meaning of ſuch unſeaſonable diſturbance; but his wife fearing ſome treachery, perſuaded him to make as private an eſcape as he could: and then pulling up a board in the privy, let him go that way. Then returning to her chamber, ſhe would fain aſſure thoſe notorious youths, that there was no body beſides herſelf and children there; but this being not ſatisfactory, they forcibly broke in, and having ſearched every the moſt private corner, and not finding Gerald, they took his wife and two ſons, with a ſon and a daughter born by a concubine, and carried them away to Powis; having firſt ſet fire to the caſtle, and deſtroyed the country as they went along, Cadwgan, Owen's father, hearing of what outrageous crime his ſon had committed, was exceedingly concerned and ſorry, chiefly becauſe hereby he was like to incur King Henry's great diſpleaſure; and therefore A. D. 1106.

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A.D. 1104. About the ſame time Meyric and Gruffydh, the ſons of Trahaern ap Caradoc were both ſlain by the means of Owen ap Cadogan ap Blethyn; whoſe uncle Meredith ap Blethyn, who had been priſoner for a long time in England, now broke open the priſon, wherein he was very narrowly confined; and returning to his own country, had his eſtate reſtored, which afterwards he quietly enjoyed.

1105. The next year a very diſmal and calamitous accident happening in the Low-countries, proved very incommodious and prejudicial to the Welch; for a great part of Flanders being drowned by the overflowing of the ſea, the inhabitants were compelled to ſeek for ſome other country to dwell in, their own being now covered with water. And therefore a great many being come over to England, they requeſted of King Henry to aſſign them ſome part of his kingdom which was empty and void of inhabitants, where they might ſettle and plant themſelves. The king taking advantage of this charitable opportunity, and being in a manner aſſured, that theſe Flemings would be a conſiderable thorn in the ſide of the Welch, beſtowed upon them very liberally what was not juſtly in his power to give; and appointed them the country of Ros, in Dyfed or Weſt-Wales, where they continue to this day. But Gerald the king's lieutenant in thoſe parts, was reſolved to be afore-hand with them, and rebuilt the caſtle of Pembrock,

Pembrock, in a place called Congarth Fechan; whither he removed his family and all his goods. But here a very unfortunate accident happened to him; for Cadwgan ap Blethyn having prepared a ſumptuous feaſt in the Chriſtmas, invited all the lords to his country-houſe in Dyfed, and among the reſt his ſon Owen, who lived in Powis. This young gentleman being at his father's houſe, and hearing Neſt the wife of Gerald univerſally praiſed for her incomparable beauty, was ſo ſmitten with the rumour that went abroad of her, that by all means he muſt ſee the lady, who was by all ſo much admired. And foraſmuch as Gwladys, wife to Rhys ap Theodore, and mother to Neſt, was the daughter of Rywalhon ap Confyn, couſin-german to Cadwgan his father; under pretence of friendſhip and relation, he made bold to pay her a viſit. But finding the truth far to ſurpaſs the fame that went of her, he returned home ſo inflamed with her charms, that not being able to keep the maſtery over himſelf, he went back again the ſame night, and being attended by a company of wild, head-ſtrong youths, they privily entered into the caſtle, and encompaſſing the chamber about, where Gerald and his wife lay, they ſet the houſe on fire. Gerald hearing a noiſe, would fain go out to know the meaning of ſuch unſeaſonable diſturbance; but his wife fearing ſome treachery, perſuaded him to make as private an eſcape as he could: and then pulling up a board in the privy, let him go that way. Then returning to her chamber, ſhe would fain aſſure thoſe notorious youths, that there was no body beſides herſelf and children there; but this being not ſatisfactory, they forcibly broke in, and having ſearched every the moſt private corner, and not finding Gerald, they took his wife and two ſons, with a ſon and a daughter born by a concubine, and carried them away to Powis; having firſt ſet fire to the caſtle, and deſtroyed the country as they went along, Cadwgan, Owen's father, hearing of what outrageous crime his ſon had committed, was exceedingly concerned and ſorry, chiefly becauſe hereby he was like to incur King Henry's great diſpleaſure; and therefore A. D. 1106.

he went with all ſpeed to Powis, and deſired his ſon with all intreaties, to ſend home to Gerald his wife and children, with whatever elſe he had taken away from him. But Owen was ſo amourouſly inexorable with reſpect to the woman, that he would by no means part with her; however, upon her requeſt, he was willing to reſtore Gerald his children back again, which forthwith he performed. But when Richard biſhop of London, whom King Henry had conſtituted Warden of the Marches, being now at Shrewſbury, heard of this, he ſent for Ithel and Madoc the ſons of Ryryd ap Blethyn, perſons of great power and intereſt in Wales, promiſing them very conſiderable rewards, beſides the government of the whole country, in caſe they could bring Owen and his father Cadwgan, either dead or alive, to him, that he might revenge that heinous affront which they had done to the king of England. With them he joined Lhywarch the ſon of Trahaern ap Caradoc, whoſe two brethren Owen had ſlain, and Uchtryd the ſon of Edwyn; which four undertook to anſwer effectually the biſhop's propoſal to them. But when they had united their forces, and began in an hoſtile manner to deſtroy the country as they paſſed along; Uchtryd ſent private notice before him, requiring all who were any way deſirous of their own ſafety, to come to him; becauſe no quarters was to be given to any that was found in the country. The people being thus ſo opportunely forewarned, began to bethink with themſelves how they might beſt avoid ſo eminent a danger; and thereupon ſome fled to Aruſtly, others to Melienyth, ſome to Stradtywy, and ſome to Dyfed; but in this latter place they met with very cold welcome; for Gerald, who was then very buſy in exerciſing revenge upon that country, falling in among them, cut off a conſiderable number of them. The like fate befel them who eſcaped to Aruſtly and Melienyth; for Walter biſhop of Hereford having raiſed an army in defence of the town of Caermyrdhyn, before he could come thither, accidentally met with theſe ſtragling fugitives, and knowing to what country they belonged to, without any further ceremony, he

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fell upon them, and put moſt of them to the ſword. But they who fled to Stradtywy, were gently received by Meredith ap Rytherch, and ſuch as reſorted to Uchtryd, were kindly entertained by him; and ſo he marched with the reſt of his confederates to Rydcors caſtle; it being the general opinion, that it was beſt to enter the country by night, and to take Cadwgan and Owen his ſon by ſurpriſe. But Uchtryd reflecting upon the difficulty of the country, and how eaſily they might be entrapped by an ambuſcade, diſſuaded them from any ſuch nocturnal undertakings; and told them, that it was far more adviſeable to enter the country in good order, when the light gave the ſoldiers opportunity to keep and obſerve their ranks. But whilſt they were thus conſidering of the moſt effectual way to carry on their purpoſe, Owen got a ſhip at Aberdyfi, bound for Ireland; and eſcaping thither, avoided the narrow ſearch that was the following day made for them. But when neither father nor ſon could be found, all the fault was laid upon Uchtryd, who had diſſuaded them from falling upon the caſtle unexpectedly; and therefore all they could do, ſince their eſcape, was to burn and deſtroy the country; which they did effectually, excepting the two ſanctuaries of Lhanpadarn and Lhandewi Brefi; out of which however they took ſeveral perſons who had eſcaped thither, and carried them away priſoners to their ſeveral countries. But Owen, with them who were acceſſary to the burning of Rydcors caſtle, being fled into Ireland, deſired the umbrage and protection of King Murcart; who received him very gladly, upon the account of their former acquaintance; for Owen, during the war betwixt the Earls of Arundel and Cheſter, and the Welch, had fled to King Murcart, and brought him very rich preſents from Wales, Cadwgan all this while lay privately in Powis; but thinking it impoſſible to continue there long undiſcovered, he adjudged it his wiſer way to ſend to King Henry, and to declare his innocency and abhorrence of that fact which his ſon had committed. The King was eaſily perſuaded that the old man was guiltleſs, and wholly ignorant of his

ſon's crime; and therefore he gave him permiſſion to remain in the country, and to enjoy the town and lands he received by his wife, who was the daughter of a Norman lord, called Pygot de Say. But his lands in Powis were otherwiſe diſtributed; for his nephews Madoc and Ithel, finding what circumſtances their uncle Cadwgan lay under, upon the account of his ſon Owen; they divided betwixt themſelves ſuch lands as he and his ſon poſſeſſed in Powis, though afterwards they could never agree about the equal diſtribution of it. To counterbalance this, Cadwgan made ſuch friends to the King of England, that upon paying the fine of 100 l. he had a grant of all his lands in Cardigan, and a power to recall all the inhabitants, who had rubbed off upon the publication of the King's late order, That no Welchman or Norman ſhould dwell in Cardigan. Upon information of this grant to Cadwgan, ſeveral of them that retired to Ireland returned again privately to Wales, and lurkingly remained with their friends; but Owen durſt not appear in Cardigan, by reaſon that his father had received that country from King Henry, upon condition that he would never entertain nor receive his ſon, nor by any means ſuccour him either with men or money. Nevertheleſs, Owen came to Powis, and would fain be reconciled to the king, and make an atonement for his late miſdemeanor; but he could find no body that would venture to ſpeak in his behalf, nor make the king acquainted with his deſire and willingneſs to ſubmit. And thus being hopeleſs and full of deſpair, he could not poſſibly divine which way to turn himſelf; till at laſt, a very unexpected opportunity offered him means and occaſion to oppoſe the Engliſh. The matter was this, there happened a difference betwixt Madoc ap Ryryd and the biſhop of London, lieutenant of the marches of Wales, about certain Engliſh felons, who being under the protection of Madoc, he would not reſtore at the biſhop's requeſt. The biſhop being much offended at Madawc's denial, threatened him very ſeverely; and therefore to make all poſſible preparations

preparations againſt an enſuing ſtorm, Madawc ſent to Owen, who heretofore was his greateſt enemy, deſiring his help againſt the biſhop; and by this means being reconciled, they took their mutual oaths not to betray each other, and that neither ſhould make a ſeparate agreement with the Engliſh without the knowledge and approbation of the other. And ſo uniting their power, they ſpoiled and ravaged all the country about them, deſtroying whatever they could meet with which belonged to thoſe they had no kindneſs or affection for, without the leaſt diſtinction of Engliſh or Welch.

Iorwerth ap Blethyn had been very unjuſtly detained A.D. 1107. in priſon all this time; and now King Henry calling to mind what hardſhip he laboured under, and that he committed him to cuſtody upon no pretence of reaſon, ſent to know of him, what he was willing to pay for his liberty, Iorwerth being now almoſt ready to ſink under a fatigue of ſo long impriſonment, was glad to give any thing he was able, to obtain that which he had ſo long in vain hoped for; and therefore he promiſed either 300 l. in ſpecie, or to the value of it in cattle and horſes; for the payment of which, Iorwerth and Ithel the ſons of his brother Ryryd were delivered for pledges. Then the king releaſed him out of priſon, and reſtored him all his lands which were taken from him; and of the due for his liberty, the king beſtowed 10 l. upon Henry, Cadwgan's ſon by the daughter of Pygot de Say the Norman. Owen and Madawc all this while committed all the waſte and deſtruction poſſible, and cruelly annoyed both the Engliſh and Normans; and always withdrew and retired to Iorwerth's eſtate, which ſo troubled him, by reaſon of the king's ſtrict orders, not to permit Owen to come to his or Cadwgan's territories, that at length he ſent to them this poſitive and peremptory rebuke; "Since it hath pleaſed God to place us in the midſt "of our enemies, and to deliver us into their hands; "and hath ſo far weakened us, as that we are not able "to do any thing by our own ſtrength; and your fa-"ther Cadwgan and myſelf, are particularly com-

"manded, under penalty of forfeiting our lands and "eſtates, not to afford you any ſuccour or refuge during "theſe your rebellious practices; therefore as a friend "I intreat you, command you as a lord, and deſire "you as a kinſman, that you come no more to mine "or your father Cadwgan's territories."

Owen and Madawc receiving ſuch a preſumptuous meſſage, were the more enraged, and in the way of a malignant retribution, did more frequently than heretofore, ſhelter themſelves in Iorwerth's country; in ſo much, that at laſt, ſince that they would neither by threats nor intreaties deſiſt from their wonted courſes, he was forced to gather his power, and drive them out by force of arms. Being chaſed out hence, they made in-roads into Uchtryd's country in Merionethſhire; but Uchtryd's ſons, being then in Cyveilioc, hearing of it, they ſent to the people of the country, with poſitive orders to oppoſe and reſiſt any offer they would make to enter the country. The people, though wanting a ſkilful commander, were reſolved to do as much as lay in their power; and ſo meeting with them by the way, they ſet upon them ſo furiouſly, that Owen and Madawc, though after a brave defence, were forced to bear back, and to take the heels; Owen to Cardigan to his father Cadwgan, and Madawc to Powis. Yet all this misfortune could not ſuppreſs the reſtleſs ſpirit of Owen; for as ſoon as he could rally together his ſcattered troops; he made divers inroads into Dyfed, and carrying away ſeveral perſons to the ſhips, that they came in from Ireland; he firſt ranſomed them, and then liſting them under his own command, made ſuch addition to his army, that he ventured to ſet upon a town in Dyfed belonging to the Flemings, and having raſed it to the ground, he returned to Cardigan; having no regard to what inconveniency might befal his father from the king of England, upon this account: which a little afterwards unhappily fell out. For it happened that ſome of Owen's men having had intelligence, that a certain biſhop called William de Brabant, was upon his journey through that country to the court of England, laid wait for his coming; who without any apprehenſion

prehenſion of treachery, paſſing through the country was unexpectedly ſlain, he and all his retinue. Iorwerth and Cadwgan were then at court, to ſpeak with King Henry, concerning certain buſineſs of their own; but whilſt they diſcourſed the king, in comes a Fleming, that was a brother to the deceaſed biſhop, and with a very loud exclamation, complained how that Owen, Cadwgan's ſon had ſlain his brother and the reſt of his company; and that he was ſuccoured and entertained in Cardigan's country. King Henry hearing this, was wrathfully diſpleaſed at ſuch cruel barbarity, that a perſon of that quality and profeſſion ſhould be ſo treacherouſly murdered; and therefore he asked Cadwgan what he could ſay to the matter; who anſwered, that what had ſo unhappily fell out, was done without the leaſt of his knowledge or approbation, and therefore deſired his Majeſty to impute all the blame and guilt of that unfortunate action to his ſon Owen. But King Henry was ſo far from being ſatisfied with this reply, that he told Cadwgan in a violent paſſion, That ſince he could not keep his ſon ſo, but that he was aided and continually entertained in his country, he would beſtow it upon another perſon, who was better able and more willing to keep him out; and would allow him a maintenance upon his own proper charges, upon theſe conditions, that he ſhould not enter into Wales any more, without his farther orders; and ſo granting him twenty days for the ordering his affairs, he gave him liberty to retire to any part of his dominions, excepting Wales. When Owen and Madawc were informed how Cadwgan was treated by the king of England, and that Cardigan, which was their chiefeſt place of refuge, was to be given to another perſon, they thought that their condition by this time was deſperate, and that they had not better ſtay any longer in Britain; and therefore with all ſpeed they took ſhipping for Ireland, where they were ſure to be honourably entertained by King Murkart. Then King Henry ſent for Gilbert Strongbow, Earl of Strygill, a perſon of noted worth

and valour, and one who had often ſued to the king for to grant him ſome lands in Wales, and beſtowed upon him all the lands and inheritance of Cadwgan ap Blethyn, in caſe he could conquer and bring the country under. Gilbert very thankfully accepted of the propoſal, and having drawn together all the forces he was able to raiſe, he paſſed to Wales, and being come to Cardigan, without the leaſt trouble or oppoſition, he reduced the whole country to his ſubjection. The firſt thing he did, was the beſt he could to ſecure himſelf in this new-purchaſed inheritance; in order to which, he erected two caſtles, one upon the frontiers of North Wales, upon the mouth of the river Yſtwyth, a mile diſtant from Lhanbadarn; the other towards Dyfed, upon the river Teifi, at a place called Dyngerant; where, as ſome think, Roger Montgomery had ſome time before laid the foundation of Cilgarran caſtle.

Owen and Madawc were all this while in Ireland; but this latter being at length tired with the country, and not willing to endure the manners and cuſtoms of the Iriſh, came over for Wales, and paſſed to the country of his uncle Iorwerth. Iorwerth being acquainted with his arrival was feaful to ſuffer the ſame fate with his brother Cadwgan, by winking at his being there; and therefore without any regard to relation or conſanguinity, he preſently iſſued out a proclamation, forbidding any of his ſubjects under a great penalty to receive him, but that they ſhould account him an open enemy to their country, and endeavour all they could to ſecure him, and to bring him priſoner before him. When Madawc underſtood this, how that his perſon was in continual danger whilſt he remained there; having drawn to him all the out-laws and villains in the country, he kept in the rocks and mountains deviſing all the ways and means he could to be revenged upon Iorwerth; and ſo made a private league and agreement with Lhywarch ap Trahaern, who for a long time had been a mortal enemy of Iorwerth's. Theſe two aſſociates, having intelligence that

that Iorwerth lay one night at Caereineon, gathered all their ſtrength, and came and encompaſſed the houſe at midnight; which when Iorwerth's ſervants perceived, they aroſe and defended the houſe with all the might they could; but the aſſailants at laſt putting the houſe on fire, they were glad, as many as could, to eſcape through the flames; the greateſt part being forced to yield, either to the enemies ſword, or the more conquering fire. Iorwerth ſeeing no remedy, but that he muſt undergo the ſame fate as his men had done, choſe rather to die in the preſence of his enemies, with his ſword in his hand, than to commit his life to the cowardly flames; and therefore ruſhing out with great violence, he was received upon the points of the enemies ſpears, and ſo being toſſed into the fire, he miſerably periſhed by a double death. As ſoon as King Henry heard of his death, he ſent for Cadwgan to him, and gave him all his brother's eſtate, being Powys-land; and promiſing his ſon Owen his pardon, upon condition he would demean himſelf quietly and loyally hereafter, willed him to ſend for him back from Ireland. King Henry alſo about this time, married his natural ſon Robert to Mabil daughter and ſole heir to Robert Fitz-hamon, lord of Glamorgan, in whoſe right this Robert became lord of Glamorgan, being before the king created earl of Gloceſter; by whom the caſtle of Cardaf was built.

But Madawc finding the matter nothing mended, and that his other uncle Cadwgan, who lay under the ſame obligation to the king of England, ruled the country, hid himſelf in the moſt private and inacceſſible places, watching only an opportunity to commit the like fact upon Cadwgan, and to murder him by one treacherous way or another. And this he effected in a little time; for Cadwgan having reduced the country to ſome ſort of ſettlement and quietneſs, and reſtored the courts of judicature, where he ſate in perſon to adminiſter juſtice; came with the reſt of the elders of the country to Trallwng, now Pool; and having begun to build a caſtle, he thought to make that the conſtant ſeat of his habitation. Madawc

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underſtanding his deſign, laid in ambuſh for him in his way to Trallwng; and as Cadwgan unconcernedly paſſed by, without the leaſt ſuſpicion of treachery, he ſuddenly ſet upon him, and ſlew him, without allowing him any time either to fight or eſcape. Then he ſent preſently a meſſage to Shrewſbury, to the biſhop of London, the king's lieutenant in the marches, to put him in mind of his former promiſes to him, when he chaſed Owen out of the country; becauſe that the biſhop bearing an inveterate enmity to Cadwgan, and his ſon Owen, granted Madawc ſuch lands, as his brother Ithel was poſſeſſed of. But Meredith ap Blethyn, being informed of the death of both his brothers, went in all haſte to the king, deſiring of him the lands of Iorwerth in Powys, which he had lately granted to Cadwgan; which the king granted him, till ſuch time as Owen ſhould return from Ireland. Owen did not ſtay long before he came over; and then going to King Henry, he was honourably received, and had all his father's eſtate reſtored to him; whereupon, in gratitude of this ſignal favour, he voluntarily promiſed to pay the king a conſiderable fine, for the due payment of which, he gave very reſponſible pledges. Madawc finding himſelf alone to be left in the lurch, and that he had no ſeeming power to bear head againſt the king, thought it alſo his wiſeſt way to make what reconciliation he could; and therefore he offered the king a very great fine, if he ſhould peaceably enjoy his former eſtate, promiſing withal, never to moleſt or diſturb any one that was ſubject to the crown of England. King Henry willing to bring all matters to a ſettled condition, readily granted his requeſt, and conferred upon him all he could reaſonably aſk for; only with this proviſo, that upon his peril, he ſhould provide for the relations of them whom he had ſo baſely murdered.

A.D. 1109. And thus all matters being brought to a peaceable concluſion in Wales; the next year, Robert de Beleſmo, who had been one of the chief inſtruments of theſe Welch diſturbances, in that great rebellion, which himſelf, with Roger de Montgomery, earl of Salop, and his

his brother Arnulph earl of Pembroke had raiſed againſt the king; was taken priſoner by King Henry in Normandy, and committed to perpetual impriſonment in Warham-caſtle. The year following, Mere- A. D. 1110.
dith ap Blethyn detatched a conſiderable party of his men, to make incurſions into the country of Lhywarch ap Trahaern ap Gwyn, who was an inveterate enemy of himſelf and Owen; by reaſon that by his aid and inſtigation, Madawc was encouraged to kill his uncles Iorwerth and Cadwgan. Theſe men as they paſſed through Madawc's country, met a perſon in the night-time who belonged to Madawc; who being aſked where his maſter was, after ſome pretence of ignorance, at laſt through fear confeſſed, that he was not far from that place. Therefore lying quietly there all night, by break of day they aroſe to look out their game; and unexpectedly ſurprizing Madawc, they ſlew a great number of his men, and took himſelf priſoner; and ſo carrying him to their Lord, they delivered him up, as the greateſt honour of their expedition. Meredith was not a little proud of his priſoner, and therefore to ingratiate himſelf the more with his nephew Owen, he committed him to ſafe cuſtody, till he was ſent for; who coming thither ſtreight, Meredith delivered Madawc up to him. Owen, though he had the greateſt reaſon for the moſt cruel revenge, by reaſon that both his father and uncle were baſely murdered by this Madawc, would not put him to death, remembering the intimate friendſhip and oaths that had paſſed betwixt them; but however, to ſecure him from any future miſchief he might practiſe, he pulled out his eyes, and then ſet him at liberty. But leaſt he ſhould be capable of any revenge, by reaſon of his eſtate and ſtrength in the country, Meredith and Owen thought fit to divide his lands betwixt them; which were Caernarvon, Aberhiw, with the third part of Deuthwfyr.

Theſe home-bred diſturbances being pretty well 1111.
abated, a greater ſtorm aroſe from abroad; for the next year, King Henry prepared a mighty army to enter into Wales, being provoked thereto by the requeſt

of

of thoſe who enjoyed a great part of the Welchmens lands, but would not be ſatisfied till they got all. For Gilbert Strongbow earl of Strygill, upon whom the king had beſtowed Cardigan, made great complaints of Owen ap Cadwgan, declaring how that he received and entertained ſuch perſons as ſpoiled and robbed in his country; and Hugh earl of Cheſter made the like of Gruffydh ap Conan Prince of North-Wales, how that his ſubjects and the men of Grono ap Owen ap Edwyn Lord of Tegengl, unreproved, waſted, and burnt the country of Cheſhire; and to aggravate the matter the more, he added farther, that Gruffydh neither owed any ſervice, nor paid any tribute to the king. Upon theſe complaints, King Henry was ſo cruelly enraged, that he ſwore he would not leave one living creature remaining in North-Wales and Powys-land; but having extirpated utterly the preſent race of people, he would plant a colony of new inhabitants. And then dividing his army into three parts, he delivered one to the conduct of the Earl of Strygill, to go againſt South-Wales, which comprehended the whole power of the fourth part of England and Cornwall: the next battle was deſigned againſt North-Wales, in which was all the ſtrength of Scotland and the North, and was commanded by Alexander king of the Scots, and Hugh Earl of Cheſter: the third the king led himſelf againſt Powys, wherein was contained the whole ſtrength of the middle part of England. Meredith ap Blethyn hearing of theſe mighty preparations, and being informed that this vaſt army was deſigned againſt Wales, was quickly apprehenſive that the Welch were not able to make any great defence; and therefore thought it his ſafeſt way to provide for himſelf beforehand; and ſo coming to the king, yielded himſelf up to his mercy. But Owen fearing to commit himſelf to thoſe whom he knew ſo greedily to covet his eſtate, and whom he was aſſured were far more deſirous to diſpoſſeſs the Welch of their lands, than any other way to puniſh them for former crimes and miſcarriages, fled to Gruffydh ap Conan to North-Wales. Upon that, king Henry converted his whole force that way,

way, and came himſelf as far as Murcaſtelh, and the Scotch king to Pennant Bachwy; but the people flying to the mountains, carried with them all the cattle and proviſion they had; ſo that the Engliſh could not follow them, and as many as attempted to come at them, were either ſlain or wounded in the ſtreights. But Alexander king of the Scots finding that nothing could poſſibly be effected againſt the Welch, as long as they kept the rocks and mountains, ſent to Prince Gruffydh adviſing him to ſubmit himſelf to the king, promiſing him all his intereſt to obtain an honourable peace. But the prince was too well acquainted with Engliſh promiſes, and therefore refuſed his propoſals; and ſo King Henry being very unwilling to return without doing ſomething in this expedition, ſent to Owen to forſake the prince, who was not able to defend himſelf, but was ready to ſtrike a peace with the Scottiſh king and the earl of Cheſter. But this cunning inſinuation would not take effect; for Owen was for his life as diſtruſtful of King Henry as Prince Gruffydh; and therefore he would hearken to no intreaties for revolting from him, who had all this while afforded him refuge, till at length his uncle Meredith, an old inſinuating politician, perſuaded him, with much ado, not to forſake the king of England's propoſals, who offered him all his lands without tribute, in caſe he would come to his ſide; and therefore Meredith adviſed him inſtantly to accept of his offer, before Prince Gruffydh made a peace with the king, which if it was once done, he would be glad upon any ſcore to purchaſe the king's mercy. Owen being prevailed upon by ſuch arguments, came to the king, who received him very graciouſly, and told him, that becauſe he believed his promiſe, he would not only perform that, but likewiſe exalt him above any of his kindred, and grant him his lands free from any payment of tribute. Prince Gruffydh perceiving how that Owen had ſubmitted to the king, thought it alſo his wiſeſt way to ſue for peace; and ſo promiſing the king a great ſum of money, a peace was then actually agreed upon, and confirmed; which the King of England

England was the more ready to conſent to, becauſe he found it impoſſible to do him any hurt, whilſt he continued encamped in that place. Some affirm, that the ſubmiſſion as well of Prince Gruffydh as Owen, was procured by the policy of Meredith ap Blethyn and the earl of Cheſter; this laſt working with Gruffydh, and aſſuring him that Owen had made his peace with the king before any ſuch thing was in agitation, ſo that the prince yielding ſomewhat to the earl's requeſt, if Owen had gone contrary to his oath, which they had mutually taken, not to make any peace with the Engliſh, without one anothers knowledge, ſeemed to incline to a peace. On the other hand, Meredith going in perſon to his nephew Owen, affirmed for truth, that the prince and the earl of Cheſter were actually agreed, and the prince was on his journey to the king to make his ſubmiſſion. And in the mean while Meredith took eſpecial care that all meſſengers betwixt the prince and Owen ſhould be intercepted, and by that means Owen wilfully ſubmitted himſelf to the king.

King Henry having thus finiſhed and brought to an end all his buſineſs in Wales, calling Owen to him, told him, that in caſe he would go over with him to Normandy, and there be faithful to him, he would upon his return confirm all his promiſes upon him; and ſo Owen accepting of the king's offer, went with him to Normandy, where he behaved himſelf ſo gallantly, that he was made a knight; and after his return the year following, he had all his lands and
A. D. 1112. eſtate confirmed unto him. About the ſame time Griffri biſhop of St. David's died, and king Henry appointed to ſucceed him one Barnard a Norman, much againſt the good-will and inclination of the Welch, who before this time were ever uſed to elect their own biſhop. And this year the rumour of Gruffydh ſon to Rhys ap Theodore was ſpread throughout South-Wales, who, as the report went, for fear of the king had been from a child brought up in Ireland, and having come over about two years afore, paſt his time privately among his relations, particularly with

with Gerald Steward of Pembroke his brother-in law. And now the noiſe of a new prince being ſpread abroad, it came at laſt to the ears of the king of England, that a certain perſon appeared in Wales, who pretended to be the ſon of Rhys ap Theodore, late prince of South Wales, and laid claim to that principality, which was now in the king's hands. King Henry being ſomewhat concerned with ſuch a report, and fearing leſt that this new ſtarter ſhould create him ſome greater trouble, he thought to nip him in the bud, and ſent down orders to apprehend him. But Gruffydh ap Rhys being aware of the traps laid againſt him, ſent to Gruffydh ap Conan prince of North Wales, deſiring his aſſiſtance, and that he might have liberty to remain ſafe in his country, which Gruffydh for his father's account, readily granted, and treated him honourably. A little after, his brother Howel who was impriſoned by Ardulph Earl of Pembroke in the caſtle of Montgomery, where he had remained for a great while, made his eſcape and fled to his brother, then with Gruffydh ap Conan in North Wales. But King Henry being informed that Gruffydh ap Rhys and his brother Howel were entertained by the Prince of North Wales, ſent very ſmooth letters to Gruffydh ap Conan, deſiring to ſpeak with him, who being come, he received him with all the tokens of honour and friendſhip, and beſtowed upon him very rich preſents, juſt after the Norman policy, who uſually make very much of thoſe whom they deſign afterwards to be ſerviceable to them. After ſome time's general diſcourſe, King Henry came at length to the main point, and promiſed the prince even mountains of gold, in caſe he would ſend Gruffydh ap Rhys or his head to him, which the Prince, overcome by ſuch fair words and large promiſes, promiſed to perform, and ſo returned joyfully home, big with the expectation of his future reward. But ſome who wiſhed better to Gruffydh ap Rhys and his brother Howel, preſently ſuſpected the occaſion of the king's meſſage, and therefore they adviſed them to withdraw themſelves privately for ſome time, till Prince Gruffydh's

fydh's mind be better underſtood, and whether he had made any agreement with the king of England to betray them to him. As ſoon as the Prince was returned to his palace at Aberffraw, he preſently enquired for Gruffydh ap Rhys, and learning in a little time where he was, he ſent a troop of horſe to recall him to his court, but Gruffydh hearing of their approach, with all ſpeed made his eſcape to the church of Aberdaron, and took ſanctuary there. But Prince Gruffydh was ſo reſolute to make his promiſe good to the king of England, that without any reſpect to the religious place he had eſcaped too, he commanded the ſame meſſengers to return, and to bring him away by force, which the clergy of the country unanimouſly withſtood, proteſting that they would not ſee the liberties of the church in the leaſt infringed. And whilſt the clergy and the prince's officers were thus at debate, that ſame night, ſome who had compaſſion upon the young prince, and ſeeing how greedily his life was thirſted for, conveyed him away out of North Wales to Straywy in South Wales. And ſo being delivered from the treacherous and more diſhonourable practices of the Prince of North Wales, he was forced for the defence of his own life to bid open defiance to the king of England, and thereupon having raiſed all the forces which the ſhortneſs of the opportunity would permit, he made war upon the Flemings and Normans.

A. D. 1113. The next year, he laid ſiege to the caſtle which ſtood over-againſt Arberth, and winning the ſame, made it plain with the ground, and from thence marched to Lhanymdhfry caſtle, belonging to Richard de Pwns, upon whom the King had beſtowed Cantref Bychan, but the garriſon commanded by Meredith ap Rytherch ap Caradoc, ſo manfully defended it, that Gruffydh after killing only ſome few of the beſieged, and burning the out-works, was forced to remove with no ſmall loſs of his own men. Finding this place impregnable, he came before Abertawy-caſtle, which was built by Henry Beaumont Earl

Earl of Warwick, but this proving too ſtrong to be quickly ſurrendered, after he had burnt ſome of the outward buildings, he returned to Stratywy, burning and deſtroying all the country as he went along. And now his fame being ſpread abroad through all the country, all the wild and head-ſtrong youth, and they whoſe fortunes were deſperate, reſorted unto him from all parts, by which means being waxed ſtrong and numerous, he made in-roads into Ros and Dyfed, ſpoiling and deſtroying the country before him. The Normans and Flemings were cruelly enraged with theſe continual depredations, and how to remedy this miſchief, was not eaſily determined; but after a long conſultation, they thought it the beſt way to call together ſuch Welch lords as were friends to the king of England, ſuch were Owen ap Rhytherch, and Rhytherch ap Theodore, with his ſons Meredith and Owen, whoſe mother was Heynyth the daughter of Blethyn ap Confyn, and Owen ap Caradoc the ſon of Gwenlhian another daughter of Blethyn, and Meredith ap Rhytherch. Theſe proteſting their loyalty and fidelity to King Henry were deſired to defend the king's caſtle of Carmardhyn, and that by turns; Owen ap Caradoc the firſt fortnight, and then by ſucceſſion by Rhytherch ap Theodore and Meredith ap Rhytherch. Owen undertook the defence of Carmardhyn caſtle for the time required of him, and Blethyn ap Gadifor had committed to him the government of Abercomyn or Abercorran caſtle, which appertained to Robert Courtmain. But for all theſe preparations, Gruffydh ap Rhys had a wiſhful eye upon Carmardhyn, and therefore he ſent out ſome ſpies to learn the ſtrength and condition of the town, who bringing him a very kind and hopeful account, he decamped by night, and ruſhing ſuddenly into the town, ordered his men to make a great ſhout, thereby to ſtrike a great terror into thoſe within. Owen ap Caradoc the governor, being ſurpriſed with ſuch an unexpected uproar, made all poſſible haſte to the place where he had heard the ſhouting, and thinking that his men were at his heels, fell in among the enemy; but

having none to ſupport him, his men being all fled, he was after a manful defence cut in pieces, and ſo the town being taken, Gruffydh burnt every thing to the ground, excepting the caſtle, which was alſo ſore defaced. And then returning with a great deal of ſpoil and booty to his uſual reſidence at Stratywy; his forces were conſiderably increaſed by the acceſſion of many young men, who came to him from all quarters, and thought that fortune ſo proſpered his arms, that no body was able to ſtand before him. After this he marched to Gwyr, but William de Londres thinking it impoſſible to ſtand before him, forſook the caſtle with all his men in all haſte, ſo that when Gruffydh was come thither, he found a great deal of cattle and ſpoil, and none to own them, and therefore having burnt down the caſtle, he carried away every thing of value in the country. When the Cardiganſhire men heard how fortunately he ſucceeded in all his attempts, and being extremely fearful, leſt his next expedition ſhould be againſt them, ſent to him, deſiring him, as being their near relation and countryman, to take upon him the rule and government over them. Gruffydh willingly accepted of their offer, and coming thither, was joyfully received by the chief men in the country, who were Cadlſor ap Grono, Howel ap Dinerth, and Trahaern ap Ithel, which three perſons had forſaken Dyfed, by reaſon that it was ſo thwacked with Normans, Flemings and Engliſh men. Nor was Cardigan free from ſtrangers, who pretended to ſway and rule the country, but the people bearing in mind the continual wrong and oppreſſion they received from them, bore an inveterate hatred to them, and were very glad to be delivered from their inſolent and imperious oppreſſors. For King Henry what by force and baniſhment of thoſe that ſtood up ſtiff for their liberty, and what by corrupting of thoſe that were wavering, had brought all that country to his ſubjection, and beſtowed what lands he thought fit upon his Engliſh or Norman favourites. But notwithſtanding the ſtrength of the Engliſh in this country, Gruffydh was not a whit caſt

down, but boldly coming on to Cardigan Iſcoed, he laid ſiege to a fort that Earl Gilbert and the Flemings had built at a place called Blaen Porth Gwythan. After divers aſſaults, and the killing of ſeveral of the beſieged, with the loſs only of one of his men, Gruffydh took the place, and razing it to the ground, brought all the country thereabouts to ſubjection. This action proved very fatal to the Engliſh, for immediately upon this, they began to forſake their houſes and habitations, as thinking it too hot for them to ſtay any longer in the country, and ſo the Welch burnt and deſtroyed as far as Penwedie all the houſes of thoſe ſtrangers whom Earl Gilbert had brought with him. Then Gruffydh beſieged the caſtle of Stradpythylh which belonged to Ralph Earl Gilbert's ſteward, and having made himſelf maſter of it, he put all the garriſon to the ſword. Removing from thence, he incamped at Glaſgryg a mile from Lhanbadarn, purpoſing to beſiege Aberyſtwith caſtle next morning, but for want of proviſion neceſſary for his army, he was forced to make bold with ſome cattle which grazed within the limits of the ſanctuary. And here it may be obſerved, that not only men enjoyed the privilege of theſe ſanctuaries, but alſo cattle and horſes, and whatever elſe lived within the liberties of them. But the day following, Gruffydh marched diſorderly towards the caſtle, being apprehenſive of no great oppoſition, by reaſon that he was ignorant of the number of the garriſon, and ſo encamping upon an oppoſite hill, which was divided from the caſtle by a river, with a bridge over it, he called a council to determine with what engines they might with beſt ſucceſs play againſt it, and ſo make a general aſſault. The Normans obſerving their diſorder, very cunningly ſent out ſome of their archers to skirmiſh with them, and ſo by little and little to entice them to the bridge, where ſome of the beſt armed horſemen were ready to iſſue out upon them. The Welch not thinking the garriſon to be ſo ſtrong approached near the bridge, ſtill skirmiſhing with the Normans, who pretended to give ground; but when they came very near, out ſal-

lies one on horſeback, who would fain paſs the bridge; but being received upon the points of their ſpears, he began to flag, and as he endeavoured to return, he fell off his horſe, and ſo the Welch purſued him over the bridge. The Engliſhmen ſeeing this, fled towards the caſtle, and the Welch with all ſpeed followed them to the top of the hill; but whilſt they thought that the day was their own, up riſes a party of horſe which lay in ambuſcade under the hill, and ſtanding betwixt the Welch and the bridge, prevented any ſuccour to come to them. And the Welch being thus hemmed in betwixt both parties, the former recoiling with greater ſtrength, were ſo unmercifully cut off, that ſcarce one man was left living. When the reſt of the Welch army, that ſtaid on the other ſide of the river, ſaw what number the garriſon contained, and that they were ſtrong beyond their expectation, preſently decamped, and with all ſpeed departed out of the country.

When King Henry was informed of all the miſchief and cruelties that Gruffydh ap Rhys had committed among his ſubjects in Wales, he ſent for Owen ap Cadwgan, deſiring him and Lhywarch ap Trahaern to uſe all the effectual methods poſſible to take or kill the arch-rebel Gruffydh, promiſing very ſpeedily to ſend his ſon Robert with an army to Wales for that purpoſe. Owen being very proud that the king put ſuch confidence in him, encouraged his men to be now ſo induſtrious to merit the king's favour, as they had been formerly to deſerve his diſpleaſure; and ſo joining his forces with Lhywarch, they both marched to meet Prince Robert at Stratywy, where they ſuppoſed Gruffydh ap Rhys had hid himſelf in the woods. When they were come to the frontiers of the country, they made a vow, that they would let neither man, woman, or child eſcape alive; which ſo affrighted the people of the country, that all made what ſhift they could to ſave their lives, ſome by fleeing to the woods and mountains, and ſome by getting into the king's caſtles, from whence they had come but a little before. Then Owen and Lhywarch

ſeparated

ſeparated with diſtinct parties to ſcour the woods, which about Stratywy are very deſertous; and Owen having entered with an hundred men, preſently diſcovered the tract of men and cattle, and followed their footſteps ſo cloſe, that within a little while he overtook them; and having ſlain a great many of them, and put the reſt to flight, he carried away all their cattle back to his army.

But whilſt Owen was buſy in ſearching the woods, Gerald ſteward of Pembrock, who with a great power of Flemings was upon his march to join the king's ſon, met with them who fled from Owen; who deſiring help of Gerald, declared how Owen had forcibly drove them out, ſlain a great many of their companions, and ſpoiled them of all their goods. Gerald and his Flemings underſtanding that Owen was ſo nigh with ſuch a ſmall number of men, thought he had now very convenient opportunity to be revenged of him upon the account of his wife; and therefore to make ſure work with him, he purſued him cloſe into the woods. Owen being forewarned by his men that a great number followed him, and adviſed to make all ſpeed to get away, was deaf to all ſuch counſels, as thinking that they of whom his men were ſo much afraid of, were the king's friends, and therefore their integrity need not be queſtioned, ſince they had all reſpect to the ſame common cauſe. But he found, that a private quarrel is ſometime more regarded than the publick good; and therefore when Gerald was advanced within bowſhot, he greeted him with a volley of arrows, to ſhew how great a friend he was; but Owen, though perſuaded to flee, was ſo little terrified at ſuch an unwelcome ſalutation, that though the enemy were ſeven to one, yet he told them, that they were but Flemings, and ſuch as always trembled at the hearing of his name. And then falling on with a great deal of courage, he was at the firſt onſet ſtruck with an arrow into the heart, of which wound he preſently died; which when his men ſaw they all fled, and brought word to Lhywarch and the reſt of their fellows of what had happened; and ſo ſuſpecting the

king's army, ſeeing they could not be truſted in their ſervice, they all returned to their reſpective countries.

Owen being in this manner unhappily ſlain, his brethren divided his lands betwixt them; excepting Caereneon, which properly belonged to Madawc ap Ryryd ap Blethyn; and which he had forcibly taken away from his uncle Meredith. His father Cadwgan had ſeveral children by different women; and beſides himſelf, he had iſſue Madawc by Gwenlhian the daughter of Gruffydh ap Conan; Eineon by Sanna the daughter of Dyfnwal; Morgan, by Efelhiw or Elhiw the daughter of Cadifor ap Colhoyn lord of Dyfed; Henry and Gruffydh were by the daughter of the lord Pigot his wedded wife; Meredith by Euroron Hoodliw; and himſelf by Inerth the daughter of Edwyn. But a while afterwards, Eineon ap Cadwgan and Gruffydh ap Meredith ap Blethyn, beſieged the caſtle of Cymmer in Merionethſhire, which was lately built by Uchtryd ap Edwyn; for Cadwgan had beſtowed upon Uchtryd his couſin-german Merioneth and Cyfeilioc, upon condition, that in all caſes he ſhould appear his friend, and his ſons after him; contrary to which promiſe he bore no manner of regard to Cadwgan's children after Owen's death; but to ſtrengthen himſelf the better, he erected this caſtle of Cymmer, which very much diſpleaſed many of Cadwgan's ſons. And therefore Eineon and Gruffydh, to make Uchtryd ſenſible of his error in deſpiſing of them, furiouſly ſet upon Cymmer caſtle, and having ſlain divers of the garriſon, the reſt ſurrendered themſelves; and ſo taking poſſeſſion of it, they divided the country betwixt them; Mowdhwy Cyfyeilioc and half Penlhyn to Gruffydh ap Meredith; and the other half of Penlhyn with all Merioneth to Eineon.

The next year King Henry ſailed with a great army into Normandy, againſt the French king, who with the Earl of Flanders and others, went about to make William the ſon of Robert Curthoiſe duke

of

of Normandy; but at the appearance of the king of England, they all ſcattered, and laid aſide their intended deſign. About the ſame time Gilbert Strongbow Earl of Strigill, to whom King Henry had given all Cardigan, departed this life, after a long fit of a conſumption; much to the joy and ſatisfaction of the Welch, who were in great meaſure diſpleaſed, that they ſhould be deprived of their own natural lord Cadwgan, from whom this country was taken away, and be forced to ſerve and be ſubject to a ſtranger, whoſe kindneſs they had no great reaſon to expect. But the year following, an irreconcileable quarrel A. D. 1115. happened betwixt Howel ap Ithel lord of Ros and Ryfonioc, now Denbigh-land, and Riryd and Lhywarch the ſons of Owen ap Edwyn. And when they could not otherwiſe agree, they broke out into open war; and thereupon Howel ſent to Meredith ap Blethyn, and to Eineon and Madawc, Cadwgan's ſons; who came down from Merioneth with a party of four hundred well-diſciplined men, and encamped in Dyffryn Clwyd. Riryd and Lhywarch on the other hand, deſired the aſſiſtance of their couſins the ſons of Uchtryd; and ſo both armies meeting in the vale of Clwyd, they fell to blows with a great deal of ſpirit and alacrity, and after a tedious and a bloody fight, Lhywarch, Owen ap Edwyn's ſon, was at laſt ſlain, and with him Iorwerth the ſon of Nudh, a noble and a valorous perſon; and Riryd was forced to make his eſcape by flight. But though Howel obtained the victory, yet he did not long ſurvive his ſlain enemies; for having received a deſperate wound in the action, died of it within forty days; and then Meredith ap Blethyn, and the ſons of Cadwgan finding it dangerous to ſtay longer there, for fear of ſome French, who lay garriſoned in Cheſter, returned home with all ſpeed.

King Henry was ſtill in Normandy, and about this 1116. time, a very great battle was fought betwixt him, and the French king, who was ſhamefully vanquiſhed and overthrown, and had a great number of his nobles taken priſoners. But as King Henry returned the following year for England, one of the ſhips happened, 1117.

by the negligence of the pilot, to be caſt away, wherein periſhed the king's two ſons, William who was legitimate and heir apparent to the crown, and Richard his baſe ſon; together with his daughter and niece, and ſeveral others of his nobility, to the number in all of one hundred and fifty perſons. This unparallelled loſs of ſo many kindred and friends did not perplex his mind ſo long, but that within a ſhort time, he began to ſolace and raiſe his drooping ſpirits with
A. D. 1118. the thoughts of a new wife; and having married Adelice the daughter of the duke of Lovain, he purpoſed to go againſt Wales, and having prepared his forces, he led them in perſon to Powis-land.

When Meredith ap Blethyn and Eineon, Madawc and Morgan, the ſons of Cadwgan and lords of the country heard of it, they ſent to Gruffydh ap Conan Prince of North Wales, deſiring ſome help at his hands; who flatly refuſed, aſſuring them, that becauſe he was at peace with the king of England, he could neither with honour nor ſafety ſend them any ſuccour, nor permit them to come within his dominions. The lords of Powis receiving this unwelcome anſwer, and having now no manner of hopes of any aid, were reſolved however to defend themſelves as well as they could; and therefore they thought it the moſt effectual means to annoy the enemy, and to keep them from entering into the country, was to obſerve and defend the ſtreights, by which the enemy muſt of neceſſity paſs. Neither were they out in their policy; for it happened that the king himſelf, with a ſmall number, advanced to one of theſe narrow paſſages, the reſt of the army, by reaſon of their carriages, having taken ſome compaſs about; which the Welch perceiving, preſently poured a ſhower of arrows upon them, and the advantage of the ground giving help to their execution, they ſlew and wounded a great many of the Engliſh. The king himſelf was ſtruck in the breaſt, but for all that the arrow could not hurt him, by reaſon of his armour; yet he was ſo terrified with this unexpected conflict, and conſidering with himſelf, that he muſt receive ſeveral ſuch bruſhes before

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he could advance to the plain country; and what was above all, being ſenſible that by ſuch a raſh misfortune he might loſe all the honour and fame which he had before obtained, ſent a meſſage to parly with them who kept the paſſage, and with all aſſurance of ſafety, to deſire them to come to the king. The Welch being come, and queſtioned how they had ſuch confidence to oppoſe the king, and to put his life in ſo much danger; made anſwer, that they belonged to Meredith ap Blethyn, and according to their maſter's orders they were reſolved to keep the paſſage, or to die upon the ſpot. The king finding them ſo reſolute, deſired them to go to Meredith, and propoſe to him an agreement of peace, which he and his couſins the ſons of Cadwgan accepted of; and promiſed to pay the king 10,000 head of cattle, in retribution for former offences. And ſo King Henry leaving all things in a peaceable and quiet poſture in Wales, and appointing the Lord Fitz-Warren warden or lieutenant of the Marches, returned to England.

But when a foreign enemy was removed out of the country, the Welch could never forbear quarrelling with each other; for Gruffydh ap Rhys ap Theodore, who had been now for ſome time quiet, fell upon Gruffydh ap Sulhaern, and for what reaſon not diſcovered, treacherouſly ſlew him. But the next year there happened another occaſion of diſturbances and falling out among the Welch; for Eineon the ſon of Cadwgan dying, left all his ſhare of Powis and Merioneth to his brother Meredith. But his uncle Meredith ap Blethyn, thinking that theſe lands more properly belonged to him, ejected his nephew Meredith to whom his brother Eineon had left them, and took poſſeſſion of them himſelf. And what augmented theſe differences, King Henry ſet now at liberty Ithel ap Riryd ap Blethyn, Meredith's nephew, who had been for a long time detained in priſon; who coming to his own country, was in expectation to enjoy his eſtate, which, upon his being put in cuſtody, his relations had divided betwixt them; of which, the greateſt ſhare fell

A. D. 1120.

1121.

to

to his uncle Meredith. But when Gruffydh ap Conan was informed, how that Meredith ap Blethyn, contrary to all juſtice, had taken away by force the lands of his nephew Meredith ap Cadwgan, he ſent his ſons Cadwalhon and Owen with an army into Merioneth, who conquering and bringing to ſubjection all the country, carried away the chief of the people, and all the cattle to Lhyn. And at the ſame time the ſons of Cadwgan entered into the lands of Lhywarch ap Trahaern, and cruelly waſted and deſtroyed it, by reaſon that he had countenanced the doings of their uncle Meredith ap Blethyn. But theſe inward claſhings and animoſities concerning eſtates and titles, were ſeconded by moſt unnatural bloodſhed and unparalleled cruelties; for Meredith ap Blethyn, when he found that his nephew Meredith ap Cadwgan was aſſiſted by the Prince of North Wales, and that it was impracticable to keep Merioneth from him, he was reſolved to practiſe that upon his nephew, which he had failed
A.D. 1122. to effect upon another. And therefore leſt his other nephew Ithel ap Riryd ſhould meet with the like help and encouragement to recover thoſe lands, which during his impriſonment were taken away from him, of which his uncle actually enjoyed a conſiderable ſhare; Meredith thought it his wiſeſt way to prevent all manner of diſputes, by ſending Ithel out of the world, which upon mature deliberation he treacherouſly effected. Nor was this the only murder committed at this time; for Cadwalhon the ſon of Gruffydh ap Conan exceeded him far, and ſlew his three uncles, Grono, Ryryd, and Meilyr the ſons of Owen ap Edwyn; but which was moſt unnatural of all, Morgan ap Cadwgan with his own hands killed his brother Meredith; a crime moſt execrable, though he did afterwards repent of it.

1124. Not long after this, Gruffydh ap Rhys, by the falſe and invidious accuſations of the Normans, was diſpoſſeſſed of all the lands which King Henry had formerly granted him, and which he had for a conſiderable time peaceably enjoyed. And towards the end of the ſame year died Daniel ap Sulgien biſhop

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of St. David's, and archdeacon of Powis, a man of extraordinary piety and learning, and one who made it his continual employment to endeavour to work a reconciliation betwixt North Wales and Powis, which in his time were at perpetual variance and enmity with one another. The next year died likewiſe Gruf- A.D. 1125.
fydh the ſon of Meredith ap Blethyn; and about the ſame time Owen ap Cadwgan having got into his hands Meredith ap Lhywarch, delivered him to Pain Fitz-John, to be kept ſafe priſoner in the caſtle of Bridgnorth. The reaſon of this was, becauſe Meredith had ſlain Meyric his couſin-german, and very barbarouſly had pulled out the eyes of two more of his couſins the ſons of Griffri. This cruel and inhuman cuſtom of plucking out the eyes of ſuch as they hated or feared, was too frequently practiſed in Wales; for the following year Ievaf the ſon of Owen 1126.
ſerved two of his brethren after this unnatural manner, and thinking that too little, paſſed a ſentence of perpetual baniſhment upon them. A little after, his brother Lhewelyn ap Owen ſlew Iorwerth ap Lhywarch; but all this miſchief practiſed by theſe two brothers Ievaf and Lhewelyn, turned at laſt upon themſelves; for their uncle Meredith ap Blethyn being apprehenſive that his two nephews were a conſiderable rub in his way, and if they trooped off, that all their eſtate would of right fall to him; ſlew Ievaf outright, and having plucked out Lhewelyn's eyes, caſtrated him, for fear he ſhould beget any children to inherit his lands after him. Theſe no doubt were implacable times, when for the leaſt offence, nay ſometime ſuſpicion, murder was ſo openly and incorrigibly committed; which muſt of neceſſity be attributed to this one principle, That ſo many petty ſtates having equal power and authority in their own territories, and being ſubject to none but the king of England, ſtill endeavoured to outvie and overtop each other. And ſo, nearneſs of relation giving way to ambition, they never regarded thoſe of the ſame blood, ſo that themſelves might add to their ſtrength, and increaſe their eſtate by their fall; and for this reaſon Mey-

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ric ſlew Lhywarch, and his ſon Madawc, his own couſins; but before he could make any advantage of their death, he was himſelf ſerved after the ſame manner. But the only perſon who afterwards repented of ſuch a foul crime, was Morgan ap Cadwgan, who being ſeverely troubled in mind for the murder he had lately committed upon his brother Meredith, took a journey to Jeruſalem to expiate for his crime, and in his rerurn from thence, died in the iſle of Cyprus. But this treacherous way of private murdering thoſe by whom they were offended, could
A. D. 1129. not be forgot among the Welch; for Eineon the ſon of Owen ap Edwyn calling to mind how that Cadwalhon the ſon of Gruffydh ap Conan had baſely ſlain three of his brothers, and taking the opportunity of his being at Nanhewdwy, aſſiſted by Cadwgan ap Grono ap Edwyn, ſet upon him, and ſlew him. About the ſame time, that great uſurper Meredith ap Blethyn ap Confyn, who by moſt unnatural and moſt helliſh practices, had got the lands of all his brothers and nephews, and by that means was become a man of the greateſt ſtrength and ſway in Powis, died of a ſevere fit of ſickneſs, which reduced him to that apprehenſion of his former miſcarriages, that he endured penance for the expiation of former guilt.

1134. In the year 1134, till which time nothing of moment was tranſacted in Wales, Henry, the firſt of that name, king of England, died in Normandy in the month of October; after whom Stephen Earl of Buloign ſon to the Earl of Blois, his ſiſter's ſon, by the means of Hugh Bygod, was crowned king by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, all the nobility of England conſenting thereunto; though contrary to a former oath they had taken to Maud the Empreſs. The firſt thing that employed his thoughts after his acceſſion to the government, was againſt David king of the Scots; who taking advantage of this new revolution in England, by ſome treacherous means or other, got the towns of Carliſle and Newcaſtle into his hands. But King Stephen, though ſcarcely ſettled in his throne, preſently marched towards the North; of whoſe coming

ing David being aſſured, and fearing to meet him, voluntarily reſtored Newcaſtle, and compounded for Carliſle; but would not ſwear to him by reaſon of his oath to Maud; which, however, his ſon Henry did not ſtick at; and thereupon was by King Stephen created Earl of Huntington. This change and alteration of affairs in England made alſo the Welch beſtir themſelves; for Morgan ap Owen, a man of con- A. D. 1135.
ſiderable quality and eſtate in Wales, remembering the wrong and injury he had received at the hands of Richard Fitz-Gilbert, ſlew him, together with his ſon Gilbert. And ſhortly after, Cadwalader and Owen Gwyneth the ſons of Gruffydh ap Conan Prince of North Wales, having raiſed a mighty army, marched againſt the Normans and Flemings, and coming to Cardigan, committed very conſiderable waſte and havock in the country, and took two of the ſtrongeſt places, one belonging to Walter Eſpec, and the caſtle of Aberyſtwyth. In this laſt place they were joined by Howel ap Meredith, and Rhys ap Madawc ap Ednerth; who marching forward, took the caſtle of Richard de la Mare, together with thoſe of Dinerth and Caerwedros, and then returned with very valuable booty. But having ſucceeded ſo well in this expedition, they could not reſt ſatisfied, till they had rid the whole country from the intolerable pride and oppreſſion of the Normans and Flemings; and therefore returning the ſame year to Cardigan with 6000 foot, and 2000 horſe, well diſciplined and experienced ſoldiers; and being joined by Gruffydh ap Rhys and Howel ap Meredith of Brecknock with his ſons, and Madawc ap Ednerth; they over-ran the country, as far as Aberteifi, reſtoring all the former inhabitants to their proper inheritances, and diſcarding all ſuch ſtrangers as the late Earl of Strygil had placed in the country. But when Stephen, who was governor of Aberteifi, ſaw that, he called to him Robert Fitz-Martyn, the ſons of Gerald, and William Fitz-John, with all the ſtrength of the Normans, Flemings, and Engliſh in Wales, or the Marches; and meeting with the Welch berwixt Aber Ned and Aber Dyfi, gave them battle. But

after

after a very ſore and bloody encounter, the Engliſh began to give ground, and according to their uſual manner, truſting too much to the ſtrength of their towns and fortifications, began to look how to ſave themſelves that way. But the Welch preſſed upon them ſo hard, that they killed above 3000 men, beſides ſeveral that were drowned and taken priſoners. This victory being ſo happily obtained, Cadwalader and Owen over-ran the whole country, forcing all the Normans and Flemings to depart the country with all ſpeed, and placing in their room thoſe miſerable Welch, who had been ſo long deprived and kept from their own eſtates; and after they had weeded the country of thoſe inſatiable caterpillars, they returned to North Wales, laden with very rich ſpoils and acceptable plunder. The king of England was not in a condition to take notice to what extremities his ſubjects were reduced to in Wales, by reaſon that his own nobles of England were riſen in arms againſt him; the reaſon of which tumult among the nobility was occaſioned by a fallacious report that went about of the king's death, who then lay ſick of a lethargy. They that bore him no good will, verified the rumour as much as they could, and ſtirred up the common people in behalf of the Empreſs; whereas on the other hand the king's friends betook themſelves to caſtles and ſtrong holds for fear of the Empreſs, and among others Hugh Bygod ſecured the caſtle of Norwich, and after that he was aſſured that the king was well again, he was loth to deliver the ſame out of his poſſeſſion, unleſs it were to the king's own hands. But
A. D. 1136. during theſe commotions and troubles in England, Gruffydh ap Rhys, ſon to Rhys ap Theodore, the right heir to the principality of South Wales, died, leaving iſſue behind him a ſon called Rhys, commonly known by the name of Lord Rhys, by Gwenlhian the daughter of Gruffydh ap Conan, who by ſome is ſaid to have poiſoned her huſband. Towards the end of the ſame year died likewiſe Gruffydh ap Conan Prince of North Wales, after he had reigned 57 years; to the great grief and diſcontent of all his ſubjects, as being a Prince of incomparable qualities, and one who after

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divers victories obtained over the Engliſh, had thoroughly purged North Wales from all ſtrangers and foreigners. He had iſſue by Angharad the daughter of Owen ap Edwyn, three ſons, namely, Owen, Cadwalader, and Cadwalhon, and five daughters, Marret, Suſanna, Ranulht, Agnes, and Gwenlhian; and by a concubine, Iago, Aſcain, Edwal abbot of Penmon, Dolhing, and Elen, who was married to Hova ap Ithel Felyn of Yal. There were ſeveral good and wholſome laws and ſtatutes enacted in his time; and among the reſt, he reformed the great diſorders of the Welch minſtrels, which were then grown to great abuſe. Of theſe there were three ſorts in Wales; the firſt were called Beirdh, who compoſed ſeveral ſongs and odes of various meaſures, wherein the poet's skill was not only required, but alſo a natural endowment, or a vein which the Latins term *furor poeticus*. Theſe likewiſe kept the records of all gentlemen's arms and pedigrees, and were principally eſteemed among all the degrees of the Welch poets. The next were ſuch as played upon muſical inſtruments, chiefly the harp and the crowd; which muſick Gruffydh ap Conan firſt brought over into Wales; who being born in Ireland, and deſcended by his mother's ſide of Iriſh parents, brought with him from thence ſeveral skilful muſicians, who invented almoſt all the inſtruments as were afterwards played upon in Wales. The laſt ſort were called Atcaneaid, whoſe buſineſs it was to ſing to the inſtruments played upon by another. Each of theſe, by the ſame ſtatute, had their ſeveral reward and encouragement alloted to them; their life and behaviour was to be ſpotleſs and unblameable, otherwiſe their puniſhment was very ſevere and rigid, every one having authority to puniſh and correct them, even to the deprivation of all they had. They were alſo interdicted and forbidden to enter any man's houſe, or to compoſe any ſong of any one, without the ſpecial leave and warrant of the party concerned; with many other ordinances relating to the like purpoſe.

OWEN

OWEN GWYNEDH.

AFTER the death of Gruffydh ap Conan, his eldeſt ſon Owen, ſurnamed Gwynedh, ſucceeded in the principality of North Wales; who no ſooner had entered upon the government, but together with the reſt of his brethren, he made an expedition into South Wales; and having demoliſhed and overthrown the caſtles of Stradmeyric, Stephan, and Humffreys, and laid in aſhes the town of Caermardhyn, he returned home with no leſs honour than booty and plunder. About the ſame time, John archdeacon of Lhanbaran departed this life, a man of ſingular piety and ſtrictneſs of life, who for his rigid zeal in religion and virtue, was thought worthy to be canonized, and to be counted among the number of the ſaints. This year likewiſe King Stephen paſſed over to Normandy, and having concluded a peace with the French king, and the duke of Anjou, returned back to England without any further delay. But the following Spring gave opportunity for greater undertakings; David king of Scots, upon the king of England's going to France laſt ſummer, had entered the borders of England, and continued to make conſiderable waſte and havock in that part of the country. Whereupon King Stephen, to rid his country and his ſubjects from ſo dangerous an enemy, marched with an army towards the North, whoſe coming the king of Scots hearing of, he relinquiſhed the borders of England, and retired to his own country. But that would not ſatisfy King Stephen, who deſired to be further revenged for the unpardonable hoſtilities committed by the Scots in his country; and therefore purſuing the Scots to their own country, he haraſſed and laid waſte all the ſouth part of the

kingdom

kingdom of Scotland. But the king's abſence animated ſeveral of the Engliſh nobility to rebel; to which purpoſe they fortified every one their caſtles and ſtrong holds; William Earl of Gloceſter thoſe of Leeds and Briſtol; Ralph Lunel, Cari; William Fitz-Allen, Shrewſbury; Paganellus, Ludlow; William de Moyun, Duneſter; Robert de Nichol, Warham; Euſtace Fitz-John, Merton; and Walklyn, Dover. But for all theſe mighty preparations, the king in a ſhort time became maſter of them all; ſome he won by aſſault, others upon fair promiſes and advantageous conditions were ſurrendered up, and ſome he got by treacherous and under-hand contrivances. The Scots thought to make good advantage of theſe commotions in England; and thereupon, as ſoon as they heard that ſome of the nobility were in actual rebellion againſt the king, they entered into the borders, and began, as they thought, without any apprehenſion of oppoſition, to ravage and lay waſte the country before them. But William, Earl of Albemarle; William Pyppell, Earl of Nottingham; Walter Eſpec and Gilbert Lacy, gathered together all the forces they could raiſe in the North; and being animated and encouraged by the eloquent and preſſing oration of Ralph biſhop of Orkneys, which he delivered in the audience of the whole army, they ſet upon the Scots at Almerton with ſuch unanimous courage, that after a very great ſlaughter of his men, King David was glad to eſcape with his life by flight. After this, King Stephen ſeized to his own uſe the caſtles of Ludlow and Leeds, and preſſed the biſhops of Saliſbury and Lincoln, ſo hard, that to prevent their periſhing by famine, they were conſtrained to ſurrender; the former the caſtles of Viſes and Shirburn; the latter thoſe of Newark upon Trent and Sleeford. This did not a little augment the king's ſtrength againſt the enſuing ſtorm; for in the ſummer this year, Maud the Empreſs, daughter and heir to King Henry, to whom King Stephen, with all the nobility of England, had ſworn allegiance, landed at Arundel, with her brother Robert Earl of Gloceſter, and was there honourably received by William de Albineto,

who was lately married to Queen Adeliz, King Henry's widow, with whom he received the earldom of Arundel in dowry. But as ſoon as King Stephen heard of her landing, he marched with all poſſible ſpeed to Arundel, and laid ſiege to the caſtle; but finding it upon trial impregnable, he raiſed the ſiege, and by that means ſuffered the Empreſs and her brother to eſcape to Briſtol.

A.D. 1138. The next year an unlucky accident fell out in Wales; Cynric, one of Prince Owen's ſons, having by ſome means or other diſguſted Madawc ap Meredith ap Blethyn ap Conſyn, a perſon of conſiderable eſteem and eſtate in the country, was, with his connivance ſet upon and ſlain by his men. But the affairs of England this year, afforded greater rarity of action; King Stephen with a formidable army laid ſiege to the city of Lincoln, to the relief of which, Ranulph Earl of Cheſter, and Robert Earl of Gloceſter, marched with their forces. But before they could arrive, the town was taken; whereupon they drew up their forces in order to give the king battle, who on the other ſide, was as ready to receive them. King Stephen drew up his forces in three battles, the firſt being led by the Earls of Britain, Mellent, Norfolk, Hampton, and Warren; the ſecond by the Earl of Albemarle, and William of Ypres; and the third by the king himſelf, aſſiſted by Baldwyn Fitz-Gilbert, with ſeveral others of his nobility. Of the enemy's ſide, the diſinherited barons had the firſt place; the Earl of Cheſter, with a conſiderable party of Welchmen, far better couraged than armed, led the ſecond; and the Earl of Gloceſter the third battle. After a hot and bloody diſpute of both ſides, the victory at length favoured the barons, King Stephen being firſt taken priſoner, and a little after the queen, together with William of Ypres, and Bryan Fitz-Count. But within a while after, William Martell and Geffrey de Mandeville gathered together ſome freſh forces, and fought the Empreſs and her brother at Wincheſter, and having put the Empreſs to flight, took Earl Robert priſoner, for exchange of whom, the king was ſet at liberty.

berty. The next year King Stephen would try the other adventure, and received a ſecond overthrow at Wilton; which, however, did not ſo much diſcourage him, but that he laid ſo cloſe a ſiege to the Empreſs at Oxford, that ſhe was glad to make her eſcape to Wallingford. The ſame year died Madawc ap Ednerth, a perſon of great quality and note in Wales; and Meredith ap Howel, a man of no mean eſteem, was ſlain by the ſons of Blethyn ap Gwyn. A. D. 1139.

For the two ſucceeding years nothing remarkable paſſed in Wales; excepting that this year Howel ap Meredith ap Rhytherch of Cantref Bychan, and Rhys ap Howel were cowardly ſlain by the treachery and perfidious practices of the Flemings; and the next year Howel ap Meredith ap Blethyn was baſely murdered by his own men; at which time, Howel and Cadwgan the ſons of Madawc ap Ednerth, upon ſome unhappy quarrel, did kill each other. But ſhortly after this, an irreconcileable difference fell out betwixt Anarawd ſon to Gruffydh ap Rhys Prince of South Wales, and his father-in-law Cadwalader the ſon of Gruffydh ap Conan, and brother to Prince Owen Gwynedh; which from words quickly proceeded to blows. In this ſcuffle Anarawd was unhappily ſlain; which ſo exaſperated Prince Owen againſt his brother Cadwalader, that together with his ſon Howel, he marched with an army into his brother's country, and after a conſiderable waſte and deſtruction, burnt to the ground the caſtle of Aberyſtwyth. Cadwalader, upon the news of Prince Owen's approach, withdrew himſelf and fled to Ireland; where having hired a great number of Iriſh and Scots for two thouſand marks, under the command of Octer, and the ſons of Turkel and Cherulf, he ſtruct ſail for Wales, and landed at Abermeny in Carnarvonſhire. The Prince, to protract no time, marched with all ſpeed to prevent their farther progreſs into the country; and both armies being come in view of each other, a peace was happily concluded betwixt the two brothers. The Iriſh underſtanding this, and how that their coming over was 1140. 1141. 1142.

like to prove but a fool's errand to them, they ſurpriſed and ſecured Cadwalader, till their wages and arrears were paid; who, to obtain his liberty, delivered to them two thouſand heads of cattle, beſides many priſoners, and other booty, which they had taken in the country. But as ſoon as the Prince was informed that his brother Cadwalader was ſet looſe, without any farther demur upon the caſe, he fell in upon the Iriſh, and having ſlain a very conſiderable number of them, recovered all the booty they purpoſed to ſhip off, and forced as many as could eſcape, to return with great loſs, and a greater ſhame back to Ireland.

But the Normans ſped far better in Wales; Hugh ſon to Radulph Earl of Cheſter, having fortified his caſtle of Cymaron, ſet upon and won the country of Melienyth a ſecond time; and the caſtle of Clun being fortified by another lord, all Eluel became ſubject to the Normans. The ſame time King Stephen took Geffry Mandeville priſoner at St. Albans, where the earl of Arundel, by the ſlip of his horſe, was like to be drowned in the river. But the Earl of Mandeville, to obtain his liberty, delivered up to the king the tower of London, with the caſtles of Walden and Plaſſey, which reduced him to that condition, that he was forced to live upon the plunder and ſpoil of abbies and other religious houſes, till at length he was ſlain in a ſkirmiſh againſt the king, and his ſon baniſhed the kingdom.

A. D. 1144. The next year a ſkirmiſh happened betwixt Hugh de Mortimer and Rhys ap Howel, wherein the latter was taken priſoner, with many others of his accomplices, who were all committed to priſon by the Engliſh. But it fared much better with Howel and Conan the ſons of Prince Owen, who having raiſed an army againſt the Flemings and Normans, gained a conſiderable victory at Abertiefi, and having placed a garriſon in the town, returned home with great honour, and much booty.

About the ſame time, Sulien ap Rhythmarch, one of the college of Lhanbadarn, and a perſon of great reading and extenſive learning, departed this life. Shortly after, Gilbert Earl of Clare, came with a great number of

of forces to Dyfed, and built the caſtle of Caermardhyn, and the caſtle of the ſons of Uchtryd. Hugh Mortimer likewiſe ſlew Meyric ap Madawc ap Riryd ap Bleddu, and Meredic ap Madawc ap Ednerth. And ſo far it went of the ſide of the Engliſh; but now the Welch begin to gain ground; Cadelh the ſon of Gruffydh ap Rhys Prince of South Wales, laid ſiege to the caſtle of Dynefowr, belonging to Earl Gilbert, which being ſurrendered up, Cadelh, aſſiſted by his brethren Meredith and Rhys, brought his army before the caſtle of Caermardhyn, which after a ſhort ſiege yielded in like manner, reſerving only this one condition, that the garriſon ſhould not be put to the ſword. A.D. 1145.

From thence he marched to Lhanſtephan, and ſet before the caſtle; to the relief of which the Normans and Flemings coming with their forces, were ſhamefully vanquiſhed and overcome, and ſo the caſtle was eaſily delivered up to the Welch. But the Normans were ſo cruelly nettled at this, that they muſtered up all the forces they could poſſibly draw together out of the neighbouring countries, and unexpectedly ſurrounded the caſtle, intending by all poſſible means to recover the ſame. But the governor, Meredith ap Gruffydh, a man of great years, and no leſs experience, ſo animated and encouraged the beſieged, that when the Normans and Flemings ventured to ſcale the walls, they were beat back with ſuch vigour, and loſs of their ſide, that at length they were compelled to raiſe the ſiege, and leave the Welch in poſſeſſion of the caſtle.

Shortly after this, Run the ſon of Prince Owen of North Wales, a youth of excellent hopes, and incomparable qualifications, died, whoſe death his father took ſo much to heart, that for ſome time he ſeemed to be paſt all comfort, being fallen into ſuch a melancholy diſpoſition, that he was diverted with nothing but retirement. But an accident fell out, which rouſed him out of this lethargical fit of ſorrow and diſcontent; the caſtle of Mould was ſo very ſtrong

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

and well garriſoned by the Engliſh, that it mightily annoyed the country thereabouts, and had been frequently beſieged, but could never be taken. Prince Owen at this time levied an army and laid cloſe ſiege to it; and the garriſon for ſeveral aſſaults, behaved itſelf ſo manfully, that the place ſeemed impregnable and invincible. But the preſence and example of Prince Owen ſo encouraged his men, that they fell on with all poſſible vigour and might, and at laſt forced their entrance into the caſtle. Having put a great number of the garriſon to the ſword, and taken the reſt priſoners, the caſtle was razed to the ground; and this fortunate attempt ſo pleaſed the Prince, that he forgot all ſorrow for his ſon, and returned to his uſual temper and accuſtomed merriments. At the ſame time, King Stephen of England obtained a remarkable victory over his enemies at Farendon; and although the enſuing year Rondel Earl of Cheſter and he were reconciled, yet he thought it more adviſeable to detain him priſoner, though contrary to his promiſe, until ſuch time as the Earl would deliver up the caſtle of Lincoln, with all the forts and places of ſtrength in his cuſtody.

A. D. 1146. The next year, Cadelh, Meredith, and Rhys, the ſons of Gruffydh ap Rhys ap Theodor, brought an army before the caſtle of Gwys; but finding themſelves too weak to maſter it, they deſired Howel, ſon to Prince Owen Gwynedh, a perſon famouſly remarkable for martial endowments, to come to their aſſiſtance. Howel, who was very deſirous to ſignalize himſelf, and to evidence his valour to the world, readily conſented to their requeſt; and having drawn his forces together, marched directly towards Gwys, where being arrived, he was joyfully received, and honourably entertained by ſuch lords as deſired his help. Having viewed the ſtrength and fortification of the caſtle, he found it was impracticable to take the place, without the walls could be deſtroyed; and therefore he gave order, that certain battering engines ſhould be provided, whilſt the reſt ſhould gaul and moleſt the beſieged,

ſieged, by throwing of great ſtones into the caſtle. The enemies perceiving what irreſiſtible preparations the beſiegers contrived, thought it to no purpoſe to withſtand their fury; and therefore to do that voluntarily which muſt be done by compulſion, they preſently yielded up the caſtle. Shortly after this a great difference happened betwixt the ſons of Prince Owen, Howel, and Conan, and their uncle Cadwalader; whereupon the former entered with an army into the country of Merioneth, and committed great waſtes and hoſtilities there, inſomuch that the inhabitants flocked into ſanctuaries to ſave their lives. But the young lords finding what fearful and unſtable condition the people were in, and the better to draw them to their ſide, iſſued out their proclamation, aſſuring that all who would favour their country, ſhould not only enjoy their lives, but their former liberty and accuſtomed privileges; upon the publication of which edict, the people returned to their own habitations. Having by this ſtratagem brought all the country under their own pleaſure and good will, they led their army before the caſtle of Cynfael, belonging to Cadwalader, which he had built and ſtrongly fortified. The government of this caſtle Cadwalader had committed to Merfyn, abbot of Tygwyn, or the White-Houſe; who being ſummoned to ſurrender, by the brothers Howel and Conan, did not only refuſe, but defied their utmoſt efforts upon the place. The lords finding they could do no good by threats and menaces, judged it more convenient to make uſe of the other extream; and therefore promiſed the abbot a very high reward, if he would deliver the caſtle into their hands. But all proved to no effect, the abbot being a perſon, of more honeſty and greater honour, than to be corrupted to betray his truſt; told them flatly, That he would not deceive his maſter's expectation, and therefore would chooſe rather to die with honour, than to live with ſhame. The lords finding him inexorable, and withal being vexed, that a churchman ſhould put ſuch a ſtop to their fortunate proceedings,

made ſuch a vigorous aſſault upon the caſtle, that after they had pulled down ſome part of the walls, they entered in by force, and ravaged ſo furiouſly, that they killed and wounded the whole garriſon, the abbot only eſcaping, who by the help of ſome of his friends in Howel's army, got away ſafe. Towards the cloſe of this year, ſeveral perſons of note departed this life, among whom were Robert Earl of Gloceſter, and Gilbert Earl of Clare, as alſo Uchthryd biſhop of Llandaf, a man of great piety and learning, in whoſe ſee ſucceeded Nicholas ab Gurgant.

A D. 1147. The following year alſo died Bernard biſhop of St. David's, and was ſucceeded by David Fitzgerald, then
1148. archdeacon of Cardigan. Sometime after, Prince Owen Gwynedh built a caſtle in Yale, called Caſtelh y Rodwyth; and his brother Cadwalader built another at Lhanryſtid, and beſtowed his part of Cardigan upon his ſon Cadwgan. Alſo Madoc the ſon of Meredith ap Blethyn founded the caſtle of Oſweſtry, and gave his nephews Owen and Meyric the ſons of Gruffydh ap Meredith his ſhare of Cyfeilioc.

1149. The next year Conan ſon to Prince Owen Gwynedh for certain faults and miſcarriages committed againſt his father, though the particulars are not diſcovered, was put in priſon, where for ſome time he continued in cuſtody. But it fared better with his brother Howel, who having made his uncle Cadwalader his priſoner, reduced all his country, together with his caſtle ſubject to himſelf. In South Wales, ſome buſineſs of moment happened this year; Cadelh the ſon of Gruffydh ap Rhys having fortified the caſtle of Carmardhyn, marched with his army towards Cydwely, waſted and deſtroyed the whole country, and being returned home, joined his army with his brothers Meredith and Rhys, who entering into the country of Cardigan, won that part called Is Aeron. This was ſucceeded by an action of greater importance in North Wales; ſome irreconcileable difference ariſing betwixt Prince Owen, and Rondel Earl of Cheſter, quickly broke out into open war. The Earl made all the poſſible preparations

tions the opportunity would permit, and drew together a conſiderable army from all parts of England, and which ſtrengthened and encouraged him the more, he was joined by Madoc ap Meredith prince of Powys, who diſdaining to hold his lands of prince Owen Gwynedh, choſe rather to ſide with, and abet his enemies. The prince, on the other hand, was not backward in his preparations, and perceiving the enemy to come upon him, thought it not adviſeable to ſuffer him to advance too far into the country, but to ſtop and prevent his career before he ſhould take too firm a footing in his dominions. To this end he marched with his whole power as far as Counſylht, with full reſolution to give the earl of Cheſter battle, which the Engliſh were glad of, as thinking themſelves far more numerous, and much better armed and diſciplined than the Welch. But both armies having joined battle, they quickly faltered in their expectation of undoubted ſucceſs, and finding the Welch to preſs ſo irreſiſtably ſevere upon them, they thought it wiſer to retire, and endeavour to ſave themſelves by flight. But the Welch purſued them ſo hard, that few eſcaped without being either ſlain or taken priſoners, and they ſome of the chief commanders, who through the fleetneſs of their horſes, avoided the fury of their purſuers.

The next year, the ſcene of action removed to South-Wales, Cadelh, Meredith and Rhys, the ſons of Gruffydh ap Rhys prince of South Wales, being entered with an army into Cardigan, won all the country from Howel the prince of North-Wales's ſon, excepting the caſtle of Lhanſihangel in Pengwern. The ſiege of Lhanryſtyd caſtle proved ſo difficult and unmanageable, that the young lords of South-Wales loſt a great part of their braveſt ſoldiers before it, which ſo troubled and vexed them, that when they got poſſeſſion of the caſtle, they put all the garriſon to the ſword. From thence they marched to Yſtratmeyric caſtle, which after they had won, manned and re-fortified, they diſbanded their forces, and returned A. D. 1150.

turned home. But Cadelh, the eldeſt of the brothers, was upon the point of receiving his laſt blow by treachery at home, which he had eſcaped from the enemies abroad. For ſome of the inhabitants of Tenbigh in Pembrokeſhire, having conceived ſome diſpleaſure and hatred againſt Cadelh, were reſolved to revenge themſelves, and to lay a trap for his life; and having obſerved what pleaſure he took in hunting, were reſolved to execute their plot, whilſt he was hot and eager at his ſport. Obſerving therefore one day how he went a hunting with only a few companions, they placed themſelves in an ambuſcade, and when the game came that way, they unexpectedly ſet upon the unarmed ſportſmen, and having eaſily made all the reſt fly away, they wounded Cadelh ſo cruelly, that he narrowly eſcaped their hands alive; who making ſhift to get home, lay for a long time dangerouſly ill, and with great difficulty at length recovered his life. Upon this, his brothers Meredith and Rhys paſſed with an army into Gwyr, and having burnt and deſtroyed the country thereabouts, they beſieged and took the caſtle of Aberlhychwr, but finding they could not keep it, they raſed it to the ground, and after that, returned home with great booty to Dynefawr, and repaired the fortifications of the caſtle there. About the ſame time alſo, Howel, Prince Owen Gwynedh's ſon, fortified Humphry's caſtle in the valley of Caletwr.

A D. 1151. But the following year, prince Owen did a very barbarous action to Cunetha, his brother Cadwalhon's ſon, for fearing leſt that this young man ſhould lay claim to any part of his eſtate as his father's right, he firſt pulled out his eyes, and afterwards caſtrated him, for fear he ſhould beget any children, who might ſome time or other renew their claim and right to Cadwalhon's eſtate. This inhuman ſeverity was ſucceeded by another of no ſmall remark; Lhewelyn ſon to Madoc ap Meredith having watched a convenient opportunity, ſet upon, and ſlew Stephen the ſon of Baldwin. But Cadwalader, Prince Owen's brother

brother, after a tedious impriſonment which he had ſuſtained through the malice and rancour of his nephew Howel, at length made his eſcape, and flying to the Iſle of Angleſey, brought a conſiderable part of that iſland under his ſubjection. But prince Owen hearing how that his brother had got looſe from cuſtody, and that he was in actual poſſeſſion of a great part of Angleſey, he preſently diſpatched an army over, which proving too formidable to Cadwalader's party, he was conſtrained to eſcape to England, and to deſire ſuccour from his wife's relations, who was the daughter of Gilbert Earl of Clare. This year Galfrede Arthur, commonly called Geffrey of Monmouth, was made biſhop of St. Aſaph, and at the ſame time Simon Archdeacon of Cyfeilioc, a man of great worth and eſteem in his country died.

But the year following, Meredith and Rhys the ſons A. D. 1152.
of Gruffydh ap Rhys, Prince of South-Wales, laid ſiege to Penwedic caſtle, which belonged to Howel Prince Owen's ſon, and after great pains and conſiderable loſs of men of their ſide, at laſt made themſelves maſters of it. From thence they marched by night to Tenby, and unexpectedly falling upon the caſtle, of which one William Fitzgerald was governor, they ſcaled the walls before the garriſon were aware of any danger, and ſo poſſeſſing themſelves of the caſtle, they fell foul upon the garriſon, in revenge of the miſchief they had done, and further deſigned to their brother Cadelh. For Cadelh at this time was gone upon a pilgrimage, and during his abſence had committed his whole inheritance and all other concerns in Wales, to the care of his brethren Meredith and Rhys. But after the taking Tenby caſtle, they divided their army into two parties, with one of which Rhys marched to Yſtratcongen, and after great havock and waſte committed there, he paſſed to Cyfeilioc, which fared in like manner with Yſtratcongen. Meredith, with the other party, ſat before Aberavan caſtle, and after a ſhort ſiege won and got poſſeſſion of it, and then returned home with very conſiderable booty, and many rich ſpoils. About the ſame time

time Rondel, earl of Cheſter, who had lived in continual enmity and frequent hoſtility with prince Owen of North-Wales, departed this life, leaving his ſon Hugh to enjoy both his titles and eſtate in England, and to proſecute the feuds and hoſtilities againſt the Welch.

A. D. 1153. And ſhortly after died Meredith, ſon to Gruffydh ap Rhys, prince of South-Wales, who was Lord of Cardigan, Yſtratywy, and Dyfed, being not paſſed the twenty-fifth year of his age; a perſon of incomparable valor and audacity, and in all his warlike attempts and atchievements very fortunate. He was preſently followed by Geoffrey Biſhop of Llandaf, a man as famous for learning and a good life, as the other was for maſculine bravery and martial proweſs. In England the face of things looked very lowering, Henry, ſurnamed Shortmantel, the empreſs' ſon, landed in England, and in his progreſs through the country took ſeveral caſtles, among which were Malmeſbury, Wallingford, and Shrewſbury. But his fury was quickly appeaſed by the death of Euſtace, king Stephen's ſon, ſo that the ſole obſtacle for his ſucceeding to the crown, being now removed, we willingly concluded a peace with king Stephen, permitting him to enjoy the crown peaceably for his life, upon con-
1154. dition that himſelf was declared his ſucceſſor. But king Stephen did not long ſurvive this treaty; and then Henry Plantagenet, the empreſs's ſon, was crowned
1155. in his ſtead. Towards the beginning of King Henry's reign, Rhys Gruffydh ap Rhys, king of South-Wales, upon apprehenſion that Owen Gwynedh had raiſed an army for the conqueſt of South-Wales, drew together all his ſtrength, and marched to Aberdyfi to face the enemy upon their own borders. But finding the rumor to be falſe, and that the prince of North-Wales had no ſuch deſign in hand, having built a caſtle at Abedyfi, which might defend the frontiers from any future deſign of his country, he returned back without attempting any thing farther. At the ſame time, Madoc ap Meredith built a caſtle at Caereneon near Cymer, and then Eglwys Fair in Myfot,

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The ſame year king Henry being diſpleaſed with the Flemings, whom his predeceſſor King Stephen had brought over into England, iſſued out a proclamation, charging the greateſt part of them to depart his dominions, and to retire to their countrymen in Weſt-Wales, where his grandfather, Henry the firſt the Baſtard's ſon. had planted them. And thus that part of Wales, called Pembrokeſhire, was over-run with theſe ſtrangers, who being better befriended by the Kings of England, than the Welch could well expect to be, made ſure footing in that country, where they have ever ſince continued firm. It was the Engliſh policy of thoſe times to accept of any opportunity to curb and keep under the Welch, whom they experienced to be none of the ſafeſt neighbours, and therefore the kings of England did grant any lands and privileges in Wales to any that would accept of them, which, honeſtly, they had no power to beſtow.

But this was not enough in detriment to the Welch, A. D. 1156.
for the year following, King Henry raiſed a very great army, which he gathered from all parts of England, with purpoſe to ſubdue all North-Wales, being principally moved hereto, by the inſtigation of Cadwalader the prince's brother, whom Owen Gwynedh, for what reaſons not known, deprived of his eſtate, and baniſhed the country. Alſo Madoc ap Meredith, prince of Powis, who maligned the liberty and privilege of the princes of North-Wales, who owned ſubjection to no other than the king of England, whereas thoſe of Powis were obliged to do homage to the prince of North-Wales, did jointly conſent to this invitation. The king of England accepted of their propoſals, led his army to Weſt-Cheſter, and encamped upon the marſh called Saltney, in Welch, Morfa-Caer-Lleon. Prince Owen, all this while, was not ignorant of this intended invaſion; and therefore having

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But this was not enough in detriment to the Welch, A. D. 1156.
for the year following, King Henry raiſed a very great army, which he gathered from all parts of England, with purpoſe to ſubdue all North-Wales, being principally moved hereto, by the inſtigation of Cadwalader the prince's brother, whom Owen Gwynedh, for what reaſons not known, deprived of his eſtate, and baniſhed the country. Alſo Madoc ap Meredith, prince of Powis, who maligned the liberty and privilege of the princes of North-Wales, who owned ſubjection to no other than the king of England, whereas thoſe of Powis were obliged to do homage to the prince of North-Wales, did jointly conſent to this invitation. The king of England accepted of their propoſals, led his army to Weſt-Cheſter, and encamped upon the marſh called Saltney, in Welch, Morfa-Caer-Lleon. Prince Owen, all this while, was not ignorant of this intended invaſion; and therefore having

having made all poſſible preparations to confront the enemy, he marched his army to the frontiers of England, and encamping at Baſingwerk, reſolved to give the Engliſh battle. King Henry underſtanding of the prince's reſolution, detached ſome of the chiefeſt troops out of the main-body, under the command of ſeveral earls and other lords, and ſent them towards the prince's camp. But after they had advanced ſome little way, and were paſſing through a wood, called Coed-Eulo, David and Conon, prince Owen's ſons, unexpectedly ſet upon them, and what by the advantage of the ground, and the ſuddenneſs of the action, the Engliſh were born down with a great ſlaughter, and thoſe who ſurvived narrowly eſcaped to the king's camp. This was a very unwelcome beginning to king Henry; but however, in order to proſper better hereafter, he thought it adviſeable to decamp from Saltney, and to rank his troops along the ſea-coaſt, thinking thereby to get betwixt prince Owen and his country, which if he could effect, he was ſure to reduce the Welch to a very great inconveniency. But the prince, foreſeeing the danger of this, retired with his army to a place called Cil Owen, that is, Owen's Retreat, which when King Henry perceived, he let fall his deſign, and came to Ruthlan. W. Parnus writes, that in this expedition againſt the Welch, King Henry was in great danger of his life, in paſſing through a ſtrait at Counſylth near Flint, where Henry Earl of Eſſex, who by inheritance enjoyed the office of bearing the ſtandard of England, being over-charged by the enemy, caſt down the ſame and fled, This accident ſo encouraged the Welch, that they bore on ſo violently, that the king himſelf narrowly eſcaped, having of his party Euſtace Fitz-John, and Robert Curcie, two valiant knights, together with ſeveral others of his nobility and gentry ſlain in the action.

Lib. 2. cap. 5.

After this prince Owen decamped from Cil Owen, and intrenched himſelf upon Bryn y Pin, where little of moment paſſed between the two armies, only ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes happened frequently. King Henry

Henry in the mean time fortified the caſtle of Ruthlan, and during his ſtay there, Madoc ap Meredith prince of Powis, ſailed with the Engliſh fleet to Angleſey, and having put ſome men on ſhore, they burnt two churches, and ravaged part of the country about. But they paid very dear for it, for all the ſtrength of the iſland being met together, they ſet upon them in their return to their ſhips, and cut them off in ſuch a manner, that not one remained to bring tidings to the fleet of what had befel them. But they on board quickly perceived what had happened, and therefore thought it not very ſafe harbouring upon that coaſt, but judging it more adviſeable to weigh anchor, they preſently ſet ſail for Cheſter; when they were arrived thither, they found that a peace was actually concluded betwixt King Henry and prince Owen upon this article; That Cadwalader ſhould have all his lands reſtored to him, and he received to the favour and friendſhip of his brother. Then king Henry leaving the caſtles of Ruthlan and Baſingwerk well manned and fortified, and having near the latter founded a public ſtructure for the order of Knights Templars, returned to England. But the troubles of Wales did not end with him, for Iorwerdh Goch ap Meredith who had taken part with the king of England during this war, laid ſiege to the caſtle of Yale, which was built by prince Owen, and making himſelf maſter of it, raſed it to the ground.

The next year commenced with a very unfortu- A. D. 1157.
nate action, Ifor ap Meyric having long before caſt a very wiſhful eye upon the land and eſtate of Morgan ap Owen, was now reſolved to put in execution what he had before contrived; and as covetouſneſs ſeldom bears any regard to virtue or honour, he treacherouſly ſet upon him, and ſlew him; and with him fell Gurgan ap Rhys, the moſt famous Britiſh poet of his time. Morgan's eſtate Ifor beſtowed upon his brother Iorwerth, who about the ſame time got alſo poſſeſſion of the town of Caer-Lheon. But theſe inward and home-bred diſturbances

ſturbances were quickly mitigated by a general peace, which was preſently after this concluded, betwixt the king of England and all the princes and lords of Wales, Rhys ab Grüffydh ap Rhys, prince of South-Wales, only excepted. For this prince Rhys, who probably would not rely too far upon the king of England's fidelity, refuſed to conſent to a peace; but however, to ſecure himſelf the beſt he could from the Engliſh, whom he had no ſmall reaſon to be afraid of, he thought it his beſt prudence to iſſue out his orders, commanding his ſubjects to remove their cattel and other effects to the wilderneſs of Tywy, where they were like to remain ſecureſt from the eyes and reach of the enemies. But he had not continued there long, when he received a more poſitive expreſs from King Henry, commanding him to appear forthwith at his court, and to accept of the propoſals of peace, before the joint forces of England and Wales were ſent to fetch him up. Prince Rhys, having received ſuch a threatning meſſage, thought it now high time to repent of what he had afore ſo raſhly reſolved upon, and therefore after long conſultation, he judged it his wiſeſt way to accept of the king's propoſals and to appear at court. There it was agreed upon, that Rhys, whoſe lands heretofore lay ſcattered about, and were intermixed with other perſon's eſtates, ſhould enjoy Cantref Mawr, and any other Cantref which the king ſhould be pleaſed to beſtow upon him. But contrary to this article, the king aſſigned him ſeveral lordſhips and other lands far remote from each other, and particularly intermixed them with the eſtates of Engliſhmen, whom he was ſure would be a watch and a curb to all the motions of prince Rhys. This was indeed a very politick contrivance of king Henry to keep under the high and reſtleſs ſpirit of Rhys; but the juſtice of the action does not ſo evidently appear in breaking one of the chiefeſt articles of the peace, and chopping and beſtowing that which was not juſtly in his power to give. But it is manifeſtly apparent that the Engliſh of theſe times were mainly concerned right

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or wrong to oppreſs and keep under the Welch, of whoſe mortal hatred to ſubjection they had ſo frequently and ſo cruelly felt. Prince Rhys was not at all ignorant of theſe wrongful and deceitful dealings of king Henry, but knowing himſelf to be unable to redreſs theſe grievances, he thought it more adviſeable for a time to live quietly with a little, than raſhly to hazard all. But in a ſhort time he had opportunity either to demand redreſs from the king, or elſe to endeavour it himſelf by force of arms. For as ſoon as Roger earl of Clare was informed of the diſtribution which the king of England had granted to prince Rhys, he came to king Henry, requeſting of his majeſty, that he would grant him ſuch lands in Wales, as he could win by force of arms. The king readily complied with his requeſt, being always very forward to grant any thing which ſeemed to curb and diſcommode the Welch, and therefore the earl of Clare marched with a great army into Cardigan, and having fortified the caſtles of Yſtrat-Meyric, Humphrey, Dyſi, Dynerth and Lhanrhyſtyd, he made ſeveral incurſions into the country. In the ſame manner, Walter Clyfford who was governor of Lhanymdhyfri caſtle, made inroads into the territories of prince Rhys, and after he had ſlain ſeveral of the Welch, and made great waſte in the country, returned with conſiderable booty.

Prince Rhys as he was unable to bear theſe outrages, ſo he was reſolved either to have immediate redreſs, or elſe to proclaim open war againſt the Engliſh, and therefore he ſent an expreſs to king Henry, complaining of the hoſtilities which his ſubjects the earl of Clare and Walter Clyfford had committed in his country. But finding the king to put him ſtill off with only ſmooth words and fair promiſes, and that he always winked at the faults of the Engliſh and Normans, without any farther conſultation about the matter, he laid ſiege to the caſtle of Lhanymdhyfri, and in ſhort time made himſelf maſter of it. Alſo Eineon the ſon of Anarawd, Rhys's brother's ſon, and a perſon of great valour, being deſirous to

ſree his country from that miſerable ſervitude they now groaned under, and judging withal that his uncle was now diſcharged from the oath he had lately ſworn to the King of England ſat before the caſtle of Humphrey, and having forcibly made his entrance into it, he put all the garriſon to the ſword, where he found a great number of horſes and armour, enough to arm a conſiderable body of men. And whilſt Eineon was thus engaged at Humphrey's caſtle, Prince Rhys perceiving that he could not enjoy any part of his inheritance but what he afterwards got by the ſword, drew all his power together and entered Cardigan, where like a moſt violent torrent, he over-run the country, that he left not one caſtle ſtanding of thoſe which his enemies had fortified, and ſo brought all the country to his ſubjection. King Henry being ſore offended at the progreſs which Prince Rhys ſo ſuddenly made againſt him, returned with a great army into South Wales, but finding it to no purpoſe to attempt any thing againſt the Prince, he thought it more adviſeable to permit him to enjoy all that he had gotten, and only to take hoſtages for his obſerving of peace during his abſence out of the kingdom, which Prince Rhys promiſing to do, he forthwith returned to England, and ſoon after went for Normandy, where he concluded a peace with the French King.

A. D. 1158. But the year following, Prince Rhys of South Wales without any reſpect to his promiſe to King Henry laſt year, led his forces to Dyfed, and deſtroyed all the caſtles that the Normans had fortified in that country, and then laid ſiege to Caermardhyn. But Reynold Earl of Briſtol, the king's baſe ſon, being informed of it, called together the Earl of Clare, his brother-in-law Cadwalader, Prince Owen of North Wales's brother, Howel and Conan Owen's ſons, with two Earls more, who with their joint forces marched to raiſe the ſiege. But Prince Rhys was wiſer than to abide their coming, and therefore upon the firſt intimation of ſuch great oppoſition, he retired to the mountains called Cefn Reſter, and there encamped

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being ſufficiently ſecure from any enemy, by the natural fortification of the place. The confederate army lay at Dynwylhir; and there built a caſtle, but finding no news or tidings of Prince Rhys, they returned home without effecting any thing of note. King Henry was ſtill in Normandy, and there made war againſt the Earl of St. Giles, for the city and earldom of Tholouſe.

Towards the beginning of this year, Madoc ap Meredith ap Blethyn Prince of Powis died at Wincheſter, whence his body was honourably conveyed to Powis, and buried at Myfod. He was a Prince very much affected to piety and religion, very charitable to the neceſſitous, and good to the diſtreſſed; but his great fault was, that he ſtickled too hard for the intereſt of the Engliſh, and was always in confederacy with King Henry againſt the good ſucceſs of his native country. He had iſſue by his wife Suſanna, the daughter of Gruffydh ap Conan Prince of North Wales, three ſons, Gruffydh Maylor, Owen and Elis, and a daughter named Marred. He had alſo three natural ſons, Owen Brogynton, Cynwric Efelh, and Eineon Efelh, who though baſe born, yet according to the cuſtom of Wales, co-inherited with their brethren who were legitimate.

And here it will not be amiſs, once for all, to give a particular account of the principality, afterwards the lordſhips of Powis, how it came to be divided into many ſhares and portions, and by that means became ſo irrecoverably broken and weakened, that it was made ſubject to the Normans before the reſt of Wales. For Powis before King Offa's time, reached eaſtwards to the rivers of Severn and Dee, in a right line from the end of Broxon hills to Salop, and comprehended all the country between the Wye and Severn, which was antiently the eſtate of Brochwel Yſcithroc, of whom mention is made before. But after the making of Offa's dike, Powis was contracted into a narrower compaſs, the plain country towards Salop being inhabited by Saxons and Normans, ſo that the length of it reached north-eaſt from Pul-

ford bridge to Lhangiric pariſh on the confines of Cardiganſhire, to the ſouth-weſt, and the breadth from the fartheſt part of Cyfeilioc weſtward, to Elſmere on the eaſt-ſide. This principality, Roderic the Great gave to his youngeſt ſon Merfyn, in whoſe poſterity it remained entire, till the death of Blethyn ap Confyn, who though he had divided it betwixt his ſons Meredith and Cadwgan; yet it came again whole and entire to the poſſeſſion of Meredith ap Blethyn. But he again broke the union, and left it between his two ſons Madawc and Gruffydh; the firſt of which was married to Suſanna the daughter of Gruffydh ap Conan Prince of North Wales, and had with her that part, afterward called by his name, Powis Fadoc. After his death, this lordſhip was divided alſo betwixt his ſons Gruffydh Maelor, Owen ap Madawc, and Owen Brogynton, which laſt, though baſely born, had however, for his incomparable valour and courage, a ſhare of his father's eſtate, namely, Edeyrneon and Dinmael, which he left to his ſons Gruffydh, Blethyn and Iorwerth. Owen Madawc had to his portion Mechain-is-Coed, and had iſſue Lhewelyn and Owen Fychan. But Gruffydh Maelor the eldeſt ſon, lord of Bromfield, had to his part, both the Maelors with Mochnant-is-Raydar, and married Angharad the daughter of Owen Gwynedh Prince of North Wales, by whom he had iſſue one ſon named Madawc, who held his father's inheritance entirely, and left it ſo to his only ſon Gruffydh, who was called Lord of Dinas Bran, becauſe he lived in that caſtle: he married Emma the daughter of James Lord Audley, by whom he had iſſue Madawc, Lhewelyn, Gruffydh and Owen. This Gruffydh ap Madawc took part with King Henry the Third and Edward the Firſt againſt the Prince of North Wales; and therefore for fear of the ſaid prince, he was forced to keep himſelf ſecure within his caſtle of Dinas Bran, which being ſituated upon the ſummit of a very ſteep hill, ſeemed impregnable to all the daring efforts that could be uſed againſt it. After his death, Edward the Firſt dealt very unkindly with his children, who were of age to manage their own

own concerns; and making two of them privately away, beſtowed the wardſhip of Madoc his eldeſt ſon, who had by his father's will, the lordſhips of Bromfield and Yale, with the reverſion of Maelor Saeſnec Hopeſdale and Mouldſdale his mother's jointure, on John Earl Warren; and the wardſhip of Lhewelyn, to whoſe ſhare fell the lordſhips of Chirke and Nanheudwy, to Roger Mortimer, third ſon to Roger Mortimer the ſon of Ralph Mortimer, Lord Mortimer of Wigmor. But Emma, Gruffydh's wife, having in her poſſeſſion for her dowry, Maelor Saeſnec, Hopeſdale, and Moulſdale with the preſentation of Bangor rectory; and ſeeing two of her ſons diſinherited and done away, and the fourth dead without iſſue, and doubting leſt Gruffydh her only ſurviving child could not long continue, ſhe conveyed her eſtate to the Audley's, her own kin, who getting poſſeſſion of it took the ſame from the king, from whom it came to the houſe of Derby, where it continued for a long time; till at length it was ſold to Sir John Glynne, ſerjeant at law, in whoſe family it ſtill remaineth. But Earl Warren and Roger Mortimer forgetting what ſignal ſervice Gruffydh ap Madoc had performed for the king, guarded their new poſſeſſions with ſuch caution and ſtrictneſs, that they took eſpecial care they ſhould never return to any of the poſterity of the legal proprietor; and therefore having obtained the king's patent, they began to ſecure themſelves in the ſaid lordſhips. John Earl Warren began to build Holt caſtle, which was finiſhed by his ſon William, and ſo the lordſhips of Bromfield and Yale continued in the name of the Earls of Warren for three deſcents, viz. John, William and John, who dying without iſſue; the ſaid lordſhips, together with the earldom of Warren deſcended to Alice ſiſter and heir to the laſt John Earl Warren, who was married to Edmond Fitz Alan Earl of Arundel, in which houſe they remained for three deſcents, namely, Edmund, Richard, Richard his ſon, and Thomas Earl of Arundel. But for want of iſſue to this laſt, Thomas Earl of Arundel and Warren, the ſaid lordſhips fell to two of his ſiſters,

whereof one named Elizabeth was married to Thomas Mowbray duke of Norfolk, and the other called Joan, to William Beauchamp Lord of Abergavenny: but ſince they came to the hands of Sir William Stanley knight, who being attainted of High treaſon, they devolved by forfeiture to the crown, and now are annexed to the principality of Wales. But Roger Mortimer the other ſharer in the lands of Gruffydh ap Madoc, was made Juſtice of North Wales, built the caſtle of Chirke, and married Lucia the daughter and heir of Sir Robert de Wafre knight, by whom he had iſſue Roger Mortimer, who was married to Joan Turbervill, by whom he had John Mortimer Lord of Chirke. This John ſold the lordſhip of Chirke to Richard Fitzalan Earl of Arundel, Edmund's ſon, and ſo it was again annexed to Bromfield and Yale.

The third ſon of Gruffydh Lord of Dinas Bran, named alſo Gruffydh, had for his part Glyn Dwrdwy, which Gruffydh ap Gruffydh had iſſue Madoc Crupl, who was the father of Madoc Fychan, the father of Gruffydh, the father of Gruffydh Fychan, who was the father of Owen Glyndwr, who rebelling in the days of Henry the Fourth, Glyndwrdwy by confiſcation came to the King, of whom it was afterwards purchaſed by Robert Saliſbury of Rug, in whoſe family it ſtill remaineth. Owen the fourth ſon of Gruffydh Lord of Dinas Bran had for his ſhare Cynlhaeth with the rights and privileges thereunto belonging. The other part of Powys, comprehending the countries of Aruſtly, Cyfeilioc, Lhannerch-hudol, Caereneon, Mochnach uwch Rayadr, Mechan uwch Coed, Moudhwy, Deudhwr, Yſtrad Marchelch, and Teir Tref, or the Three Towns, rightfully deſcended to Gruffydh ap Meredith ap Blethyn, by Henry the Firſt, created Lord Powis, who married Gweyryl or Weyryl the daughter of Urgene ap Howel ap Ieſaf ap Cadogan ap Athleſtan Glodryth, by whom he had iſſue Owen ſurnamed Cyfeilioc. This Owen enjoyed his father's eſtate entire, and married Gwenlhiam the daugh-

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ter of Owen Gwynedh Prince of North Wales, who bore him one ſon, named Gwenwynwyn or Wenwynwyn, from whom that part of Powis was afterwards called Powis Wenwynwyn. He had moreover a baſe brother, called Caſwalhon, upon whom he beſtowed the countries of Swydh Lhannerch Hudol, and Braniarth. Gwenwynwyn ſucceeded his father in all his eſtate, ſaving what Caſwalhon enjoyed, and married Margaret the daughter of Rhys ap Theodor Prince of South Wales, by whom he had Gruffydh ap Gwenwynwyn, who ſucceeding his father in all his poſſeſſions, had iſſue ſix ſons, by Margaret the daughter of Robert Corbet, brother to Thomas Lord Corbet of Cous; and ſo the entire eſtate of Gruffydh ap Meredith ap Blethyn Lord of Powis, became ſhattered, and torn into divers pieces. Owen, Gruffydh ap Gwenwynwyn's eldeſt ſon, had for his part Aruſtly, Cyfeilioc, Lhannerch Hudol, and a part of Caereneon; Lhewelyn had Mochnant uwch Rayadr and Mechain uwch Coed; John the third ſon, had the fourth part of Caereneon; William had Moudhwy; Gruffydh Fychan had Deudhwr Yſtrat-Marchelh, and Teir Tref; and David the ſixth and youngeſt ſon, had the other fourth part of Caereneon. Owen ap Gruffydh had iſſue one only daughter, named Hawys Gadarn, or the Hardy, whom he left his heir; but her uncles Lhewelyn, John, Gruffydh Fychan and David, thinking it an eaſy matter to diſpoſſeſs an orphan, challenged the lands of their brother Owen, alledging for a cloak to their uſurpation, that a woman was not capable of holding any lands in that country. But Hawys made ſuch friends in England, that her caſe was made known to King Edward the Second, who beſtowed her in marriage upon a ſervant of his, named John Charleton, termed *Valectus domini regis*, who was born at Appley near Wellington, in the county of Salop, *anno* One thouſand two hundred ſixty-eight, and in her right, created him Lord Powis.

This John Charleton Lord Powis, being aided and ſupported by the King of England, quickly broke all their meaſures; and having taken Lhewelyn, John, and David, his wives uncles, he put them in ſafe cuſtody, in the king's caſtle of Harlech; and then obtained a writ from the King to the Sheriff of Shropſhire, and to Sir Roger Mortimer, Lord of Chirkland, and Juſtice of North Wales, for the apprehenſion of Gruffydh Fychan, with his ſons-in-law, Sir Roger Chamber and Hugh Montgomery, who were then in actual hoſtility againſt him and his wife Hawys. But Gruffydh Fychan and his accomplices ſuſpecting their own ſtrength, and having loſt Thomas Earl of Lancaſter, their main ſupport, thought it moſt adviſeable to ſubmit themſelves to the king's pleaſure, touching the difference betwixt them and Hawys; who finding upon record, how that Gruffydh ap Meredith, anceſtor to the ſaid Hawys, upon his ſubmiſſion to King Henry the Firſt, became ſubject to the King of England, and thereupon was created Baron of Powis, which barony he and his poſterity had ever ſince held *in capite* from the king; was of opinion, that Hawys had more right to her father's poſſeſſions now in their hands, than any pretence they could lay to her eſtate. But to make a final determination of this matter, and to compoſe the difference more amicably betwixt them; it was agreed, that Hawys ſhould enjoy her inheritance in fee-ſimple to her and her heirs for ever, after the tenure of England; and that her uncles Lhewelyn, John, David, and Gruffydh, ſhould quietly enjoy their portion, and the ſame to deſcend to their heir males perpetually; but in default of ſuch heir males, the ſame was to deſcend to Hawys and her heirs. But William Lord of Moudhwy, the fourth brother, called otherwiſe Wilcock Mowdhwy, becauſe he did not join with the reſt againſt Hawys, had all his lands confirmed to him, and to all his heirs, both male and female for ever. He married Elianor, the ſiſter of Elen, Owen Glyndwr's mother, who was lineally deſcended from Rhys ap Theodore, Prince of South Wales, by whom

whom he had iſſue John de Mowdhwy; whoſe daughter Elizabeth, being heir to his whole eſtate, was married to one Sir Hugh Burgh, knight. His ſon Sir John Burgh, Lord of Moudhwy, married Jane the daughter of Sir William Clapton of Gloceſterſhire, by whom he had four daughters, Elizabeth, Ancreda, Iſabel and Elianor; the firſt of whom was married to Thomas Newport, the ſecond to John Leighton of Stretton; the third to John Lingen; and the younger to Tho. Mytton; who, by equal diſtribution, had the lordſhip of Modhwy divided betwixt them.

But John Charleton Lord of Powis had iſſue by his wife Hawys, a ſon named John, who enjoyed the ſame lordſhip for about ſeven years, and then left it to his ſon, of the ſame name, who was Lord of Powis fourteen years; and then it deſcended to his ſon, called alſo John Charelton who enjoyed his father's eſtate twenty-ſeven years; but dying without iſſue, the lordſhip of Powis fell to his brother Edward Charleton. This Edward had iſſue by his wife Elianor, the daughter and one of the heirs of Thomas Earl of Kent, and the widow of Roger Mortimer Earl of March, two daughters, Jane and Joyce; the firſt of which was married to Sir John Gray, knight; and the ſecond to John Lord Tiptoft, whoſe ſon was by King Henry VI. created Earl of Worceſter. But after the death of Elianor, this Edward Lord Powis married Elizabeth the daughter of Sir John Barkley, knight; and ſo after his death, which happened in the year 1420, the lordſhip of Powis was divided into three parts, whereof his widow Elizabeth had for her jointure Lhannerch Hudol, Yſtrad Marchelh, Deudhwr and Teirtref, and was afterwards married to Lord Dudley. Jane his eldeſt daughter had Caereneon, Mechain, Mochnant, and Plaſdinas; and Joyce had Cyfeilioc, and Aruſtly. But the lordſhip of Powis continued in the family of Sir John Gray, for five deſcents, in right of his wife Jane; the laſt of whom, Edward Gray, Lord Powis, married Anne, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, and died without any lawful iſſue.

Dugdale Bar. Engl. tom. II. p. 284.

iſſue. This Edward Lord Powys, in 15 Henry VIII. accompanied the Duke of Suffolk in the expedition then made into France, and was at the taking of Bray, and other places then won from the French. And in 36 Henry VIII. being again ready to march in the King's ſervice, he made his laſt teſtament, whereby he ſettled the ſucceſſion of his whole barony and lordſhip of Powys, his caſtle and manor of Pool, with divers other lordſhips in the county of Montgomery, and all the reſt of his eſtate in the county of Salop, upon the heirs of his own body lawfully begotten, or to be begotten; and in default of ſuch iſſue, his caſtle and manor of Charlton and Pontiſbury in Shropſhire, upon Jane Orwell, daughter of Sir Lewis Orwell, knight, and her aſſigns, during her natural life. And in caſe he ſhould die without any iſſue of his own body lawfully begotten, that then Edward Grey, his illegitimate ſon by the ſame Jane Orwell, ſhould have and enjoy his ſaid barony and manor of Powis, his caſtle and manor of Pool, and all other his lordſhips in the county of Montgomery; with the reverſion of the caſtle and manor of Charlton and Pontiſbury, to him and his heirs lawfully begotten; and for lack of ſuch iſſue, to remain to that child, in caſe it ſhould be a ſon, wherewith the ſame Jane Orwell was then great by him, and to the heirs of his body lawfully begotten. But if it ſhould not prove a ſon, or if the ſon die without iſſue, then that the whole barony of Powis and all the premiſes before-mentioned, ſhould come to Jane Grey his daughter, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten; and for lack of ſuch iſſue, to Anne Grey, his other daughter, and heirs of her body lawfully begotten; and laſtly for default of ſuch iſſue, to ſuch woman-child as ſhould be born of the body of the ſaid Jane Orwell. But after Edward Grey, the title of Lord of Powis lay extinct to the fifth year of King Charles I. when Sir William Herbert ſon of Sir Edward Herbert of Redcaſtle (antiently called Pool-caſtle, now Powis caſtle) in the county of Montgomery, ſecond ſon to William Earl

of

of Pembrock, was advanced to the dignity of a Baron of the realm, by the title of Lord Powis of Powis, in the marches of Wales; in whoſe family it ſtill continues, though the title has been changed from a Baron to an Earl, and ſince to a Marquiſs.

About the ſame time that the Prince of Powis died, Cadwalhon ap Madawc ap Ednerth, who had been for ſome conſiderable time at variance with his brother Eineon Clyd, was taken priſoner by him; who delivered him up to Owen Prince of North Wales. But the Prince being willing to gratify the king of England, whoſe intereſt Cadwalhon has as much as in him lay oppoſed, ſent him to the king's officers to be impriſoned at Wincheſter; from whence he quickly found a way to eſcape: and by the advice of the reſt of his brethren he returned home to his country. King Henry continued all this while in Normandy, and during his ſtay there, a match was concluded upon betwixt his ſon Henry and Margaret daughter to Lewis king of France. But this new alliance could A.D.1160. not prevent theſe two monarchs from falling at variance with each other, which happened the year following; and thereupon King Henry marched with his army into Gaſcoyne, to quell certain rebels, who upon firſt notice of this breach between both kings, were up in arms againſt the Engliſh. But the next year, a 1161. peace was again concluded, and ſo all things returned to their former ſtate of amity and quietneſs.

But it was not ſo in Wales; for Howel the ſon of Ievaf ap Cadwgan ap Athleſtan Glodryth, having got into his hand the caſtle of Walwern in Cyfeilioc, raſed it to the ground, which ſo incenſed Prince Owen, who was owner of it, that nothing could lay his fury, till he had drawn his forces together, and made an incurſion into Lhandhinam in Aruſtly, Howel's country; which he cruelly harraſſed, and carried away conſiderable booty. The people of the country perceiving theſe devaſtations of the North Wales men, came together to the number of three hundred men, offering their ſervice to their natural Lord, Howel ap Ieſaf; who

who upon this addition of ſtrength, followed the enemy to the banks of Severn, where they were encamped. Prince Owen finding them to march after him, was glad of the opportunity to be further revenged upon Howel; and ſo turning ſuddenly upon them, he ſlew about two hundred men; the reſt narrowly eſcaping with Howel to the woods and rocks. Owen being more joyful for the revenge he had taken of Howel, than for any victory he had gained, rebuilt Walwern caſtle, and having well fortified and manned it, returned home to North Wales.

A D. 1162. The year following, the like thing happened; Owen the ſon of Gruffydh ap Meredith, commonly called Owen Cyfeilioc o Wynedh, together with Owen ap Madawc ap Meredith, and Meredith ap Howel, ſet upon Carrechofa caſtle near Oſweſtry, and having over-powered the garriſon, committed great waſte and deſtruction therein. But about the ſame time, a pleaſant paſſage happened in England; Robert Mountford and Henry de Eſſex, who had both fought againſt the Welch upon the marches, and both run, began now to impeach each other, as being the firſt occaſion of flying. The diſpute was to be tried by combat, in which being engaged, Henry was overcome; and for his falſe accuſing of Robert, he was ſentenced to have his eſtate forfeited, and then having his crown ſhorn, he was entered a monk at Redding. Within a little after, King Henry calling to mind what Prince Rhys had committed during his abſence out of the kingdom, drew up a great army againſt South Wales, and having marched as far as Pencadyr near Brecknock, Rhys met him, and did his homage; and having delivered up hoſtages for his future behaviour, ſtopped the king's farther progreſs, ſo that thence he returned to England. But after the king's departure, two very unlucky accidents happened in Wales; Eineon the ſon of Anarawd ap Gruffydh, nephew to Prince Rhys, being villainouſly murdered in his bed by his own ſervant, called Walter ap Lhywarch; as alſo Cadwgan ap Meredith in like manner,

ner, by one Walter ap Riccart. But the loſs of his nephew Prince Rhys made up, by poſſeſſing himſelf of that large country called Cantref Mawr, and the land of Dynefowr, which he afterwards enjoyed. Of men of learning there died this year, Cadifor ap Daniel, archdeacon of Cardigan; and Henry ap Arthen, the greateſt ſcholar that had flouriſhed in Wales for many years.

The next year, a total rupture broke forth betwixt A. D. 1163. the Engliſh and Welch; Prince Rhys, a man of an active and uncontroulable ſpirit, being now experimentally ſenſible he could never carry on the greatneſs and grandeur of his quality, with ſuch lands as the king of England had allotted him, made an invaſion into the lordſhip of Roger de Acre Earl of Gloceſter; being moved thereto in a great meaſure, by reaſon that his nephew Anarawd ap Gruffydh was murdered by his motive and inſtigation. Being advanced with a ſtrong army into the Earl of Gloceſter's eſtate, without any great oppoſition he took Aberheidol caſtle, with thoſe belonging to the ſons of Wyhyaon; all which he raſed to the ground. Thence he marched to Cardigan, bringing all that country under his ſubjection; and from thence he marched againſt the Flemings, whoſe country he cruelly harraſſed with fire and ſword. The reſt of the eſtates of Wales, perceiving Prince Rhys to proſper ſo ſucceſsfully againſt the Engliſh, thought they might equally ſucceed, and ſhake off the Engliſh yoke, which ſo unreaſonably oppreſſed them. And therefore they unanimouſly agreed to caſt off their ſubjection to the Engliſh, whoſe tyranny they could no longer bear, and to put over them princes of their own nation, whoſe ſuperiority they could better tolerate. And ſo this year concluded with making ſuitable preparations for the following campaign.

And therefore as ſoon as the time of year for action 1164. was advanced, David ſon of Owen Prince of North-Wales fell upon Flintſhire, which pertained to the king of England; and carrying off all the people and cattle with him, brought them to Dyffryn Clwyd, other-

otherwiſe Ruthyn land. King Henry underſtanding this, gathered together his forces, and with all ſpeed marched to defend both his ſubjects and towns from the incurſions and depredations of the Welch. Being come to Ruthlan, and encamped there three days, he quickly perceived he could do no great matter, by reaſon that his army was not ſufficiently numerous; and therefore he thought it more adviſeable to return back to England, and to augment his forces, before he ſhould attempt any thing againſt the Welch. And accordingly he levied the moſt choſen men throughout all his dominions of England, Normandy, Anjou, Gaſcoin and Gwien; beſides thoſe ſuccours from Flanders and Britain; and then ſet forward for North Wales, purpoſing to deſtroy without mercy every living thing he could poſſibly meet with; and being advanced as far as Croes-Oſwalt, called Oſweſtry, he encamped there. On the other ſide, Prince Owen and his brother Cadwalader, with all the ſtrength of North Wales; Prince Rhys with thoſe of South Wales; Owen Cyfeilioc and Madawc ap Meredith with all the power of Powis; the two ſons of Madawc ap Ednerth, with the people living betwixt the rivers of Severn and Wye, met together, and pitched their camp at Corwen in Edeyrneon, intending unanimouſly to defend their country againſt the king of England. King Henry underſtanding that they were ſo near, was very deſirous to come to battle; and to that end he removed to the banks of the river Ceireoc, cauſing all the woods thereabouts to be cut down, for fear of any ambuſhment lurking therein, and for a more clear proſpect of the enemy. But ſome of the Welch took advantage of this opportunity, who being well acquainted with the paſſage, without the knowledge of their officers, fell upon the king's guard, where all the pikemen were poſted; and after a hot skirmiſh, ſeveral were ſlain on both ſides. But in fine, the king won the paſſage, and ſo marched on to the mountain of Berwyn, where he lay ſometime without any hoſtility on either ſide, both armies ſtanding in fear of each other. The Engliſh kept the open plains, and

were

were afraid to be entrapped in the ſtreights and narrow paſſages; and the Welch on the other hand watched the advantage of the place, and obſerved the Engliſh ſo narrowly, that neither forage or victuals could paſs to the king's camp. And what augmented the miſery of the Engliſh army, there happened to fall ſuch a rain, that mightily diſturbed their encampment, in ſo much that the ſoldiers could ſcarcely ſtand, for the diſadvantage of thoſe ſlippery hills. But in the end King Henry was forced to decamp, and after a very conſiderable loſs of men and ammunition, beſides the great charges of this expedition, was compelled to return back to England. But to expreſs the great diſſatisfaction he entertained of this enterprize, in a great fury he plucked out the eyes of the hoſtages, which he had ſome time afore received from the Welch; which were Rhys and Cadwalhon the ſons of Owen Prince of North Wales, and Cynric and Meredith the ſons of Rhys of South Wales. Some write, that in aſſailing of a bridge, the king was in no ſmall danger of his life; one of the Welch having aimed directly at him, was like to pierce him through the body, had not Hubert de Clare, Conſtable of Colcheſter, who perceived the arrow a-coming thruſt himſelf betwixt the king and it, though to the loſs of his own life.

But though King Henry was ſhamefully forced to return to England, yet he did not give over the thoughts of ſubduing the Welch; and therefore after a long conſultation, he made a third expedition into Wales, conveying his army by ſea, as far as Cheſter. There he ſtaid for ſome time, till all his fleet, as well thoſe ſhips that he had hired out of Ireland, as his own, were all arrived. But when they were all come together, and got ſafely to Cheſter, his mind was altered; and inſtead of a deſign againſt Wales, he unexpectedly diſmiſſed his whole army. Prince Rhys was glad of this opportunity, and therefore withdrawing his forces from the confederate army, he marched to the ſiege of Aberteifi caſtle, which being ſurrendered to him, he raſed to the ground. From thence

he got before Cilgerran, which he uſed after the ſame manner, and therein took priſoner Robert the ſon of Stephen his couſin-german, who was the ſon of Neſt his aunt, who after the death of Gerald, had married Stephen Conſtable. The joy of theſe happy ſucceſſes on the part of the Welch, was ſomewhat clouded by the death of Lhewelyn, ſon of Owen Prince of North Wales, a perſon of great worth and exceedingly well beloved of all his country.

A. D. 1165. And now the Welch being ſomething ſecure from any invaſion from the Engliſh; there roſe up another enemy to create them diſturbance; the Flemings and Normans finding the Engliſh to fail in their attempt againſt the Welch, thought they might with better ſucceſs quell and ſubdue them. And therefore they came to Weſt Wales with a great army, and laid ſiege to the caſtle of Cilgerran, which Rhys had lately fortified; but after two different aſſaults, they were manfully beat back, and forced to depart home again. But what the Flemings could not affect againſt the Welch in South Wales, the Welch eaſily brought about againſt the Engliſh in North Wales; for Prince Owen having beſieged Baſingwerk caſtle, then in the poſſeſſion of the king of England, without much time ſpent, made himſelf maſter of it. But it was always the misfortune of the Welch, that when they found themſelves ſecure from any enemy abroad, they were ſure to quarrel and fall out at home; though indeed it could not be well otherwiſe expected, where ſo many petty ſtates endeavoured ſtill to ſurmount and out-vie one another. And now when all things went very ſucceſsfully of their ſides, in oppoſition to the Engliſh; two ambitious perſons began to kindle a flame in their own boſoms; Owen Cyfeilioc the ſon of Gruffydh ap Meredith Lord of Powis, and Owen Fychan ſecond ſon to Madawc ap Meredith, forcibly diſpoſſeſſed Iorwerth Goch of his eſtate in Powis, which they divided betwixt themſelves; Mochnant uwch Rayadr to Owen Cyfeilioc, and Mochnant is Rayadr to Owen Fychan.

But

But the reſt of the princes of Wales could not A. D. 1166.
brook this injury done to Iorwerth Goch; and therefore Owen Prince of North Wales, with his brother Cadwalader, and Rhys Prince of South Wales, went with an army into Powis againſt Owen Cyfeilioc, and having chaſed him out of the country, they beſtowed Caereneon upon Owen Fychan, to hold it of Prince Owen; and Rhys had Walwern, by reaſon that it lay near his own territories. But within a while after, Owen Cyfeilioc returned with a numerous band of Normans and Engliſh along with him, and laid ſiege to the caſtle of Caereneon, which he burnt to the ground. But the loſs of this place was made up by the taking of Ruthlan caſtle, which Owen, Rhys, and Cadwalader jointly beſieged; and which was ſo ſtrongly fortified, and ſo manfully defended, that it coſt them three months before they could make themſelves maſters of the place. Afterwards they won the caſtle of Preſtatyn, and reduced the whole country of Tegengl, ſubject to Prince Owen; and then returned home to their reſpective dominions. And from henceforward nothing of moment was tranſ- 1167.
acted, during the remainder of Prince Owen's reign, only his ſon Conan moſt unmercifully ſlew Urgeney abbot of Lhwythlawr, together with his nephew Lhawthen. But a little after, Prince Rhys of South 1168.
Wales releaſed out of priſon his nephew Robert, ſon to Stephen Conſtable, whom as is ſaid before, he had taken at the ſiege of Cilgarran caſtle, and ſent him to Ireland to the aid of Dermot the ſon of Murchart king of Linſter, who was then in actual war with the king of Leimſter. With him and his brother Morris Fitz-Gerald, and their nephews Robert Meyler and Raymond, went over a ſtrong detachment of Welchmen, under the command of Richard Strongbow Earl of Strigule, who were the chief motive of the conqueſt of Ireland, when it was firſt brought in ſubjection to the crown of England.

But the next year, Owen Gwynedh ſon of Gruf- 1169.
fydh ap Conan prince of North Wales, departed this life in the two and thirtieth year of his reign.

A.D. 1169. He was a wiſe and valourous prince, ever fortunate and victorious in all his undertakings, inſomuch, as he never undertook any deſign but what he accompliſhed. He had by different women ſeveral iſſues, who got themſelves greater eſteem by their valour, than by their birth and parentage. He had by Gwaldus the daughter of Lhywarch ap Trahaern ap Caradoc, Iorwerth Drwyndwn, or the Broken Noſe, Conan Maelgon, and Gwenlhian; by Chriſtian the daughter of Grono ap Owen ap Edwyn, he had David, Roderic, Cadwalhon abbot of Bardſey and Angharad, afterwards married to Gruffydh Maylor. He had by other women ſeveral other children, as Conan, Lhewelyn, Meredith, Edwal, Rhun, Howel, Cadelh, Madawc, Eineon, Cynwric, Philip, and Ryrid Lord of Clochran in Ireland. Of theſe, Run, Lhewelyn, and Cynwric died before their father; and the reſt will be mentioned in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

DAVID AP OWEN.

PRINCE Owen Gwynedh being dead, the ſucceſſion was of right to deſcend to his eldeſt legitimate ſon, Iorwerth Drwyndwn, otherwiſe called Edward with the Broken Noſe; but by reaſon of that blemiſh upon his face, he was laid aſide as unfit to take upon him the government of North Wales, Therefore his younger brothers began every one to aſpire,
1170 in hopes of ſucceeding their father; but Howel, who was of all the eldeſt, but baſe born, begotten of an Iriſh woman, finding they could not agree, ſtept in himſelf and took upon him the government. But David, who was legitimately born, could not brook that a baſtard ſhould aſcend his father's throne; and

therefore he made all the preparations poſſible to pull him down. Howel on the other hand was as reſolute to maintain his ground, and was not willing ſo quickly to deliver up, what he had not very long got poſſeſſion of; and ſo both brothers meeting together in the field, were reſolved to try their title by the point of the ſword. The battle had not laſted long, but Howel was ſlain; and then David was unanimouſly proclaimed and ſaluted Prince of North Wales, which principality he enjoyed without any moleſtation, till Lhewelyn, Iorwerth Drwyndwn's ſon came of age, as will hereafter appear. But Madawc, another of Owen Gwynedh's ſons, finding how his brothers contended for the principality, and that his native country was like to be turmoiled in a civil war, did think it his better prudence to try his fortune abroad; and therefore leaving North Wales in a very unſettled condition, ſailed with a ſmall fleet of ſhips which he had rigged and manned for that purpoſe, to the weſtward; and leaving Ireland on the north, he came at length to an unknown country, where moſt things appeared to him new and uncuſtomary, and the manner of the natives far different from what he had ſeen in Europe. This country, ſays the learned H. Lhoyd, muſt of neceſſity be ſome part of that vaſt tract of ground, of which the Spaniards, ſince Hanno's time, boaſt themſelves to be the firſt diſcoverers; and which by order of Coſmography, ſeems to be ſome part of Nova Hiſpania or Florida; whereby it is manifeſt, that this country was diſcovered by the Britains, long before either Columbus or Americus Veſputius ſailed thither. But concerning Madawc's voyage to this country, and afterwards his return from thence; there be many fabulous ſtories and idle tales invented by the vulgar, who are ſure never to diminiſh from what they hear, but will add to and increaſe any fable as far as their invention will prompt them. However ſays the ſame author, it is certain that Madawc arrived in this country, and after he had viewed the fertility and pleaſantneſs of it, he thought it expedient to invite more of his countrymen out of Britain; and therefore leaving moſt of

thoſe he had brought with him already behind, he returned for Wales. Being arrived there, he began to acquaint his friends with what a fair and extenſive land he had met with, void of any inhabitants, whilſt they employed all their ſkill to ſupplant one another, only for a ragged portion of rocks and mountains; and therefore he would perſuade them to change their preſent ſtate of danger and continual claſhings for a more quiet being of eaſe and enjoyment. And ſo having got a conſiderable number of Welch together, he bid his final adieu to his native country, and ſailed with ten ſhips back to them he had left behind. It is therefore to be ſuppoſed, ſays our author, that Madawc and his people inhabited part of that country, ſince called Florida, by reaſon that it appears from Francis Loves, an author of no ſmall reputation, that in Acuſanus and other places, the people honoured and worſhipped the croſs; whence it may be naturally concluded, that chriſtians had been there before the coming of the Spaniards; and who theſe chriſtians might be, unleſs it were this colony of Madawc's cannot be eaſily imagined. But by reaſon that the Welch who came over, were not many, they intermixt in a few years with the natives of the country, and ſo following their manners and uſing their language, they became at length undiſtinguiſhable from the barbarians. But the country which Madawc landed in, is by the learned Dr. Powel ſuppoſed to be part of Mexico; for which conjecture he lays down theſe following reaſons; firſt, as it is recorded in the Spaniſh chronicles of the conqueſt of the Weſt Indies, the inhabitants and natives of that country affirm by tradition, that their rulers deſcended from a ſtrange nation, which came thither from a ſtrange country; as it was confeſſed by King Montezuma, in a ſpeech at his ſubmiſſion to the king of Caſtile, before Hernando Cortez the Spaniſh general. And then the Britiſh words and names of places uſed in that country, even at this day do undoubtedly argue the ſame; as when they ſpeak and confabulate together, they uſe this Britiſh word Gwrando,

Gwrando, which ſignifies to hearken or liſten; and a certain bird with a white head, they call Pengwyn, which ſignifies the ſame in Welch. But for a more complete confirmation of this, the iſland of Corroeſo, the cape of Bryton, the river of Gwyndor, and the white rock of Pengwyn, which are all Britiſh words do manifeſtly ſhew, that it was that country which Madawc and his people inhabited.

As ſoon as the troubles of North Wales were over, A. D. 1117. and Prince David ſecurely ſettled in his throne, the ſtorm fell preſently upon Powis: for Owen Cyfeilioc the lord of the country, had always, as much as in him lay, oppoſed the intereſt and advantage of Rhys Prince of South Wales; upon which account Prince Rhys came with a great army againſt Powis, and having ſubdued Owen Cyfeilioc his enemy, he was for all that ſo favourable to him, that upon his delivering him pledges for his future behaviour, he preſently departed out of Powis, and returned with much honour to South Wales. And now all the ſtates of Britain being at perfect reſt and amity with one another, the whole tide and ſcene of action returned to Ireland; for Henry king of England having called together all his nobility, began to conſult about the Iriſh expedition, which had already been determined to be taken in hand. To this conſultation there came ſome meſſengers from Richard Strongbow Earl of Strigule Marſhal of England, to deliver up to the king's hands the city of Dublin, the town of Waterford, with all ſuch towns and caſtles as he got in right of his wife; whereupon the king reſtored to him all his lands both in England and Normandy, and created him Lord Steward of Ireland. For this Earl Strigule had lately, without the king's permiſſion, gone over to Ireland, and had married the daughter of Dermott king of Dublin; which King Henry took in ſuch indignation, that he preſently ſeized upon all his lands in England and Normandy. Therefore the king having now ſome footing in Ireland, the expedition was unanimouſly concluded upon; and

ſo the king ſet upon his journey, and coming towards Wales was received by Prince Rhys, whoſe ſubmiſſion the king liked ſo well, that he preſently confirmed to him all his lands in South Wales. To return the king's favour, Rhys promiſed to his Majeſty three hundred horſes and four thouſand oxen toward the conqueſt of Ireland; for the ſure payment of which he delivered fourteen pledges. Then King Henry marching forward, came to Caerlheon upon Uſke, and entering the town, he diſpoſſeſſed the right owner Iorwerth ap Owen ap Caradoc, and kept it for his own proper uſe, placing a garriſon of his own men therein.

But Iorwerth was not ſo eaſy-mouthed, as to be ſo unreaſonably curbed by the king; and therefore departing in a great fury from the king's preſence, he called to him his two ſons Owen and Howel, whom he had by Angharad the daughter of Uchtryd biſhop of Llandaf, and his ſiſter's ſon Morgan ap Sitſyhlt ap Dyfnwal; and bringing together all the forces they were able, upon the king's departure they entered the country, and committing all the waſte and deſtruction as they came along, they at laſt came before Caerlheon, which when they took, they uſed in the like manner, ſpoiling and deſtroying whatever they could meet with; ſo that nothing eſcaped their fury, excepting the caſtle, which they could not win. The king was in the mean time upon his journey to Pembrock, where being accompanied by Prince Rhys, he gave him a grant of all Cardigan, Yſtratywy, Aruſtly, and Eluel; in recompence of all the civilities and honour he paid him. And ſo Rhys returned to Aberteifi, a town he had lately won from the Earl of Gloceſter, and there having prepared his preſent, about the beginning of October he returned again to Pembrock, having ordered eighty-ſix horſes to follow him; which being preſented to the king, he accepted of thirty-ſix of the choiceſt, and returned the reſt with great thanks. The ſame day King Henry went to St. David's, and after he had offered to the memory of that ſaint, he dined with the biſhop, who was the

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ſon of Gerald, couſin-german to Rhys; whither Richard Strongbow Earl of Strygule came from Ireland to confer with the king. Within a while after, King Henry being entertained by Rhys at the White-Houſe, reſtored to him his ſon Howel, who had been for a conſiderable time detained as a pledge, and appointed him a certain day for payment of his tribute, at which time, all the reſt of the pledges ſhould be ſet at liberty. The day following, being the next after the feaſt of St. Luke, the king went on board, and the wind blowing very favourably, ſet ſail for Ireland; and being ſafely arrived upon thoſe coaſts, he landed at Dublin; where he reſted for that whole winter, in order to make greater preparations againſt the following campaign.

But the change of the air and climate occaſioned ſuch a raging diſtemper and infection among the ſoldiers, that to prevent the periſhing of his whole army, A. D. 1172. the king was forced to return with what ſpeed he could back for England; and ſo having ſhipped off all his army and effects, he looſed anchor, and landed in Wales in the Paſſion-week next year, and coming to Pembrock, he ſtaid there on Eaſter-day, and then proceeded upon his journey towards England. Rhys hearing of the king's return, was very officious to pay him his devotion, and would gladly feign to be one of the firſt who ſhould welcome him over; and ſo meeting with him at Talachan, he expreſſed all the ceremonies of duty and allegiance. Then the king paſſed on, and as he came from Caerdyf by the new caſtle upon Uſk, meaning to leave Wales in a peaceable condition, he ſent for Iorwerth ap Owen ap Caradoc, who was the only perſon in open enmity againſt him, and that upon very juſt ground, willing him to come and treat about a peace, and aſſuring him of a ſafe conduct for himſelf, his ſons, and all the reſt of his aſſociates. Iorwerth was willing to accept of the propoſal, and thereupon ſet forward to meet the king, having ſent an expreſs to his ſon Owen, a valourous young gentleman, to meet him by the way. Owen, according to his father's orders, ſet forward on his journey, with a ſmall

retinue, without any thing of arms or weapons of war, as thinking it folly to clog himſelf with ſuch needleſs carriage, when the king had promiſed a ſafe conduct. But he did not find it ſo ſafe; for as he paſſed the new caſtle upon Uſke, the Earl of Briſtol's men, who were garriſoned therein, laid in wait for him as he came along, and ſetting cowardly upon him, ſlew him, with moſt of his company. But ſome few eſcaped to acquaint his father Iorwerth of ſuch a treacherous action; who hearing that his ſon was ſo baſely murdered, contrary to the king's abſolute promiſe of a ſafe paſſage; without any farther conſultation about the matter, preſently returned home with Howel his ſon, and all his friends, and would no longer put any truſt or confidence in any thing that the king of England, or any of his ſubjects, promiſed to do. But on the other ſide to avenge the death of his ſon, who was ſo cowardly cut off; he preſently raiſed all the forces that himſelf and the reſt of his friends were able to do; and ſo entering into England, he deſtroyed with fire and ſword all the country, to the gates of Hereford and Gloceſter. But the king was ſo intent upon his return, that he ſeemed to take no great notice of what Iorwerth was doing; and therefore having by commiſſion conſtituted Lord Rhys Chief Juſtice of all South Wales, he forthwith took his journey to Normandy. About this time died Cadwalader ap Gruffydh, the ſon of Gruffydh ap Conan, ſometime Prince of North Wales; who by his wife, Alice the daughter of Richard Clare Earl of Gloceſter, had iſſue, Cunetha, Radulph, and Richard; and by other women, Cadfan, Cadwalader, Eineon, Meredith Goch, and Cadwalhon. Towards the end of this year Sitſylht ap Dyfnwal, and Ieſan ap Sitſyhlt ap Riryd, ſurpriſed the caſtle of Abergavenny, which belonged to the king of England, and having made themſelves maſters of it, they took the whole garriſon priſoners.

A. D. 1173. But the following year, there happened a very great difference, and a falling out betwixt King Henry and his ſon of the ſame name; this latter being upholden by the queen his mother, his brothers Geffrey and Richard,

Richard, the French King, the Earl of Flanders, together with the Earl of Cheſter, William Patrick, with ſeveral other valiant knights and gentlemen. But the old King having a ſtout and faithful army, conſiſting of Almanes and Brabanters, was not in the leaſt diſmayed or diſcouraged at ſuch a ſeeming ſtorm; and which made him more bold and adventurous, he was joined by a ſtrong party of Welchmen, which Lord Rhys had ſent him, under the command of his ſon Howel. King Henry overthrew his enemies in divers encounters, and having either killed or taken priſoners moſt of them who were roſe up againſt him, he eaſily diſſipated the cloud which at firſt ſeemed ſo black and threatening. Iorwerth ap Owen was not very ſorry to ſee the Engliſh claſh, and fall into civil diſſentions among themſelves; and therefore taking advantage of ſuch a ſeaſonable opportunity, he drew his army againſt Caerlheon, which ſtood out very ſtifly againſt him. But after many warm diſputes of both ſides, Iorwerth at length prevailed, and entering the town by force, he took moſt of the inhabitants priſoners; and then laying ſiege to the caſtle, it was ſurrendered up in exchange for the priſoners he had taken in the town. Howel his ſon at the ſame time was buſy in Gwent is Coed; and having reduced all that country, excepting the caſtle, to ſubjection, he took pledges of the inhabitants, to be true and faithful to him, and to withdraw their allegiance from the King of England. At the ſame time, ſomething of action paſſed in North-Wales; for David ap Owen Gwynedh, Prince of North-Wales, bringing an army over the river Menai into Angleſey, againſt his brother Maelgon who kept that iſland from him, forced him to make his eſcape to Ireland; in his return from whence the following year, he was accidentally diſcovered and ſeized upon, and then by his brother's orders committed to cloſe priſon. Prince David having brought the iſle of Angleſey to its priſtine ſtate of ſubjection to him, was reſolved to move all manner of obſtacles which might at any time for the future endanger its falling off from him; and theſe he judged to be his own next relations,

and

1174. and therefore he expelled and baniſhed all his brethren and couſins out of his territories of North-Wales. But before this ſentence was put in execution, his brother Conan died, and ſo eſcaped the ignominy of being baniſhed his native country, for no other reaſon but the jealouſy of an ambitious brother.

About the ſame time, Howel the ſon of Iorwerth ap Owen of Caerlheon, took priſoner his uncle Owen Pencarn, who was right heir of Caerlheon and Gwent; and now having him ſecure, and to prevent his getting any children to inherit thoſe places which himſelf was next heir to, he firſt pulled out his eyes, and then very inhumanly cut off his teſticles. But vengeance did not permit ſuch a baſe action to go unpuniſhed; for upon the Saturday following, a great army of Normans and Engliſhmen came unexpectedly before the town, and won both it and the caſtle, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition which Howel and his father Iorwerth made; though this laſt was not privy to his ſon's action. About the ſame time King Henry came over to England, a little after whoſe arrival, William king of Scots, and Roger de Moubray, were taken priſoners at Alnewike by the Barons of the north, as they came to deſtroy the northern part of the country in the quarrel of the young King. But old King Henry having committed them to the ſafe cuſtody of the Earl of Leiceſter, and received Hugh Bygod Earl of Cheſter to his mercy, returned to Normandy with a very conſiderable army of Welchmen, which David prince of North-Wales had ſent him; in return of which, he gave him his ſiſter Emme in marriage. When he was arrived in Normandy, he ſent a detachment of the Welch to cut off ſome proviſions which were going to the enemies camp; but in the mean time the French King came to a treaty of peace, which was ſhortly afterwards concluded upon; ſo that all the brethren, who had all this time maintained ſuch an unnatural rebellion againſt their father, were forced to beg the old King's forgiveneſs and pardon for all their former miſdemeanours. David Prince of

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North Wales began to grow very bold and assuming, by reason of his new alliance with the King of England; and nothing would serve his turn, but he must put his brother Roderic in prison, and secure him with fetters, for no other account, than because he demanded his share of his father's lands. It was the custom of Wales, as is said before, to make an equal division of the father's inheritance between all the children; and therefore David had no colour of reason or pretence to deal so severely with his brother; unless it were to verify that proverb; *Might overcomes right.* But though Prince David might depend much upon his affinity with the King of England; yet Rhys Prince of South-Wales gained his favour and countenance the more, by reason that he let slip no opportunity to further the King's interest and affairs in Wales, and by that means was a very necessary and useful instrument to keep under the Welch; and to promote the surer settlement of the English in the country. Not that he bore any love or affection to either King Henry or his subjects; but because he was sufficiently rewarded for former services, and was still in expectation of receiving more favours at the King's hands, he was resolved to play the politician so far, as to have regard to his own interest, more than the good of his native country. And what did ingratiate him to King Henry most of all, upon the feast of St. James he brought all such lords of South-Wales as were at enmity with the King, to do him homage at Gloceſter; namely, Cadwalhon ap Madawc of Melyenyth, his cousin-german; Eineon Clyt of Eluel, and Eineon ap Rhys of Gwerthrynion, his sons-in-law; Morgan ap Caradoc ap Iestyn of Glamorgan; Gruffydh ap Ifor ap Meiric of Sengennyth, and Sitsylht ap Dyfnwal of Higher Gwent, all three his brothers-in-law, who had married his sisters; together with Iorwerth ap Owen of Caerlheon. King Henry was so well pleased with this stratagem of Rhys, that notwithstanding these persons had been his implacable enemies, he readily granted them their pardon, and received them to favour; and restored to Iorwerth ap Owen the town and castle of Caerlheon, which he had unjustly taken from him.

This

A.D. 1175. This reconciliation betwixt King Henry and these Welch lords, some of the English in Wales took advantage of, and more particularly William de Bruce Lord of Brecnock, who having for a long time a great longing to Gwentland, could not bring about his design, by reason that Sitsylht ap Dyfnwal, the person of greatest sway and power in the country, was an inveterate enemy to all the English. But being now reconciled to the King, William de Bruce, under pretence of congratulating this new peace and agreement between the English and Welch, invited Sitsylht and Geffrey his son, with several others of the persons of chiefest note in Gwentland, to a feast in his castle of Abergavenny, which by composition he had lately received from them. Sitsylht, with the rest, came according to appointment, and without the least suspicion of any treasonable designs; but after they had been civilly entertained for some time, William Bruce, to move a quarrel against them, began at last to propound certain articles to them, to be by them kept and performed; and among other unreasonable conditions, they were to swear, that none of them should at any time carry with them bow or sword. The Welch refusing to consent to and sign such improper articles as these; William Bruce presently calls out his men, who were ready for that purpose, and bidding them fall to their business, they most treacherously fell upon and slew the innocent and naked Welch; and as if it did not sufficiently express their cruelty and inhumanity, they immediately went to Sitsylht's house, which stood not far from Abergavenny, and taking hold of Gwladus his wife, they slew her son Cadwalader before her face, and then setting fire to the house, they packed her away to the castle. This execrable murder being thus most barbarously, and which was worst of all, under pretence of friendship and kindness, committed; William Bruce, to cloak his treason with some reasonable excuse, and to make the world believe it was not for any private interest or expectation he had done such an act, as he knew would be by all men abhorred; caused it to be reported

ported abroad, that he had done ſuch a thing in revenge of the death of his uncle Henry of Hereford, whom the Welch on the Eaſtern-Even before had ſlain. But whilſt theſe things paſſed in South-Wales, Roderic, David Prince of North-Wales's brother, made his eſcape by ſome means or other out of priſon, and fleeing to Angleſey, he was received and acknowledged by all the country on the other ſide the river Conwey, for their Lord and Prince; which they were the more willing to do, by reaſon that they conceived an utter abhorrence of Prince David, who contrary to all rules of equity, and almoſt nature, had diſinherited all his brethren and couſins; as boldly relying upon his affinity and relation to the King of England. But David perceiving the ſtorm to grow very violent, and that the country did numerouſly flock and adhere to his brother Cadwalader, thought it his beſt way to ſtay a while, till the ſtorm was abated; and ſo retired over the river Conwey. Towards the end of this year, Cadelh the ſon of Gruffydh ap Rhys, and brother to Lord Rhys, after a tedious fit of ſickneſs. and taken upon him the Monkiſh order, departed this life, whoſe body was very honourably interred at Stratflur.

In the ſpring of the following year, died alſo David 1176.
Fitz-Gerald Biſhop of Menevia, or S. Davids, whoſe ſee was ſupplied by one Piers, being nominated thereunto by the King of England. But what happened moſt remarkable this year; the Lord Rhys Prince of South-Wales made a very great feaſt at Chriſtmas in his caſtle of Aberteifi, which he cauſed to be proclaimed through all Britain, Ireland, and the iſlands adjacent, ſome conſiderable time before; and according to their invitation, many hundreds of Engliſh, Normans, and others coming to Aberteifi, were very honourably received, and courteouſly entertained by Prince Rhys. But among other tokens of their welcome and entertainment, Rhys cauſed all the bards or poets throughout all Wales to come thither; and for a better diverſion to the company, he provided chairs to be ſet in the hall, in which the bards being ſeated, they were to anſwer each other in rhyme; and thoſe

that

that acquitted themſelves moſt handſomely, and overcame the reſt, were promiſed great rewards and rich preſents. In this poetical diſceptation, the North-Wales bards obtained the victory, with the applauſe and approbation of the whole company; and among the profeſſors of muſick, between whom there was no
A. D. 1177. ſmall ſtrife, Prince Rhys's own ſervants were accounted the moſt expert. But for all this civil and obliging treatment of Prince Rhys, the Normans upon the marches fell to their accuſtomed manner of treacherous way-laying, and privately aſſaulting the harmleſs and undeſigning Welch; and therefore Eineon Clyt Rhys his ſon-in-law, and Morgan ap Meredith, falling into the net which the Normans had deceitfully laid for them, were treacherouſly murdered. Therefore, to keep the Normans under greater fear and awe for the future, Prince Rhys built a caſtle at Rhayadr Gwy, being a place where the river Wye falls with a very great noiſe and precipitation down a great rock. But
1178. this caſtle was like to ſtand him in a double ſtead; for it was not long after he had perfectly finiſhed it, that the ſons of Conan ap Owen Gwynedh made war againſt him; but finding upon trial that their deſign againſt Rhys was impracticable, they thought it more adviſeable to retire back to North-Wales.

1179. The next year, Cadwalhon, brother to Owen Gwynedh, an uncle to David and Roderic, who for fear of his brother had ſome time ago fled for refuge to the King of England; as he was conveyed home by ſome of the King's ſervants, to enjoy his patrimonial Eſtate in Wales, was by thoſe barbarous and treacherous villains murdered in his journey. This year the ſepulchre of that famous and noble Britiſh King Arthur, with his wife Gwenhofar (by the means of ſome Welch bard, whom King Henry had heard at Pembrock relate in a ſong the worthy and mighty acts of that great Prince, and the place where he was buried) was found in the iſle of Afalon, without the Abbey of Glaſtenbury; their bodies being laid in a hollow elder tree, buried fifteen foot in the earth. The bones of King Arthur were of marvelous and almoſt incredible

dible bigneſs, having ten wounds in the ſkull, whereof one being conſiderably larger than the reſt, ſeemed to be his death-blow; and the Queen's hair ſeemed to the ſight to be fair and yellow, but when touched crumbled preſently to duſt. Over the bones was laid a ſtone, with a croſs of lead, upon the lower ſide of which ſtone were engraven theſe words:

HIC JACET SEPULTUS INCLYTUS REX ARTHURUS IN INSULA AVALONIA.

Here lies buried the famous King ARTHUR *in the iſle of* Afalon.

No action of moment had paſſed in Wales this long time, and the Welch were in perfect amity and concord with the King of England; but ſome unlucky accident fell out at laſt to diſſolve this happy union and agreement. One Ranulph de Poer, who was 1182.
ſheriff of Gloceſterſhire, or rather as Giraldus Cambrenſis obſerves, of Herefordſhire, being a cruel and unreaſonable oppreſſor of the Welch, put the Lord of Gwentland to death; in revenge of whom a certain young perſon of that country, ſet upon Ranulph with ſeveral other gentlemen his companions, and ſlew them to a man. King Henry was implacably enraged at this news, and ſo cruelly incenſed, that he preſently raiſed and drew together all his power, and came to Worceſter, intending to march forward to Wales, and to invade the enemies country. But the Lord Rhys ap Gruffydh, a ſubtile and a politick Prince, thinking it impoſſible to withſtand the Engliſh army, and fearing the King's puiſſance, which he perceived to be ſo implacably bent againſt the Welch, went in perſon to Worceſter, and ſwearing fealty to the King, became his perpetual liege-man; and for the due obſervance of this contract, he promiſed to ſend his ſons and nephews for pledges. But when he would have perſuaded them to anſwer his requeſt, the young men conſidering with themſelves, how former pledges had not been very genteely treated by the Engliſh, refued

refuſed to go; and ſo the whole matter reſted for that time. What became of the matter afterwards we know not; but probable it is, that King Henry returned to England ſatisfied with Rhys's ſubmiſſion; for we hear no more of his coming to Wales. And ſo the country remained quiet and undiſturbed for a long time; till at length the Welch began to fall to their wonted method of killing and murdering one another. Cad-
A.D.1186. walader Prince Rhys's ſon was privately murdered in Weſt-Wales, and buried in the Ty Gwyn. And the
1187. year following, Owen Fychan the ſon of Madawc ap Meredith, was ſlain by night in the caſtle of Carrergova near Oſweſtry, by Gwenwynwyn and Cadwalhon the ſons of Owen Cyfeilioc. But what was moſt unnatural of all, Lhewelyn, whoſe father Cadwalhon ap Gruffydh ap Conan was lately murdered by the Engliſhmen, was taken by his own brothers, who very barbarouſly put out his eyes. About the ſame time, Baldwyn, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being attended by Giraldus Cambrenſis, took a progreſs into Wales, being the firſt Archbiſhop of Canterbury that viſited that country; whoſe authority the clergy of Wales in vain oppoſed, though they ſtifly alledged the liberties and priviledges of their metropolitan church of S. Davids. In this viſitation, deſcribed by Giraldus in his Itinerarium Cambriæ, he perſuaded many of the nobility of Wales to go to the Holy Land againſt thoſe prevailing enemies of chriſtianity, the Saracens; to whoſe prevailing greatneſs, Jeruſalem itſelf was now in great danger
1188. to become ſubject. The Archbiſhop having left the country, Malegon the ſon of Lord Rhys brought all his power againſt Tenbigh, and having by force made himſelf maſter of it, burnt the whole town to the ground, and ſo carried away very conſiderable ſpoil. He was a perſon of ſuch civil behaviour and eaſy acceſs, of ſo comely perſonage, and honeſty in all his actions, that he attracted the moſt earneſt love and affection of all his friends; by which means he became very terrible and formidable to his enemies, eſpecially the Flemings, of whom he obtained divers victories and conqueſts.

The

The next year, being the year of Chriſt 1189, A. D. 1189.
Henry the Second, ſurnamed Courtmantel, king of England died, and was buried at Fonteverard; after whom, his ſon Richard, called Curdelyon, was by the unanimous conſent of all the peers and nobility of England, crowned in his place. Prince Rhys being thus deprived of his greateſt friend, thought it his wiſeſt way to make the beſt proviſion he could for himſelf, by enlarging his dominions, and extending the bounds of his preſent territories; and therefore having raiſed all the ſtrength he could, he won the caſtles of Seynclere, Abercorran, and Lhanſtephan; and having taken and committed to priſon Maelgwn his ſon, who was the greateſt thorn in his ſide, as one that was moſt paſſionately beloved by the South Wales men, he brought the whole country to his ſubjection. Then he built the caſtle of Cydwely; but 1190.
what took away from him the joy of all this good fortune, he loſt his daughter Gwenlhian, a woman of ſuch incomparable beauty, and exceeding in all feminine qualifications, that ſhe was accounted the faireſt and beſt accompliſhed lady in all the country. And 1191
not long after her died Gruffydh Maylor, lord of Bromfield, a man of great prudence and experience, and one that excelled all the nobility of his time in hoſpitality, and all other acts of generoſity and liberality. His corps was carried to Myfod, and honourably interred there, being attended by moſt of the perſons of quality throughout the whole country. He had iſſue by his wife Angharad daughter of Owen Gwynedh prince of North Wales, a ſon called Madawc, who ſucceeded his father in that part of Powys, called from him Powys Fadawc. Rhys, prince of South Wales, was growing very powerful, and had made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of South Wales, only with ſome few places more, Dynefawr held out ſtill; which however, upon the firſt aſſault he made againſt it, was delivered up to him. But as he increaſed in the number of towns and caſtles, he had the misfortune to have that of his children diminiſhed; for his daughter Gwenlhian was lately deceaſed; and

now he had no ſooner got Dynefawr caſtle into his poſſeſſion, but his ſon Owen died at Strata Florida, or Yſtratflur. King Richard was gone to the Holy Land againſt the Saracens; but on his return to England, he won the kingdom of Cyprus, and gave it to Gwido king of Jeruſalem, upon condition he would reſign his former title to him: during his ſtay in this iſland, he married Berengaria the daughter of the king of Navarre.

A. D. 1192. Maelgon, Prince Rhy's ſon had been now detained a long time in priſon, where his father had ſhut him up; but being at laſt utterly weary of ſuch a cloſe confinement, he found ſome means or other to get out, and to make his eſcape. His father Prince Rhys was not ſo troubled at his being broke out, and that he had got his liberty, as to give over the conqueſt, which all this while he had gone ſo furiouſly on with; but laying ſiege to Lhanhayaden caſtle he took it without any great oppoſition, and brought all the country about to his ſubjection. And what favoured him more in his attempts againſt the Engliſh, King Richard having moſt bravely ſignalized himſelf againſt the infidels, in his return home through Auſtria, was taken

1192. priſoner by Duke Leopold, who preſented him to the Emperor Henry, who demanded 200,000 marks for his ranſom; laying to his charge, that he had ſpoiled and plundered the iſland of Sicily in his voyage, to the Holy Land. And as Rhys took the advantage of King Richard's abſence to ſubject South Wales; ſo Roderic brother to David Prince of North Wales, made uſe of Gothrike's the king of Man's help, to get the principality of North Wales to himſelf, and eject his brother. And therefore entering into Angleſey, he quickly reduced the whole iſland to his ſubjection. But he did not enjoy it long; for before the year was over, the ſons of his brother Conan came with an army againſt him, and forcing him together with the king of Man to fly the iſland, they took preſent poſſeſſion of it themſelves. And while theſe things were done in North Wales, Maelgon, Prince Rhys of South Wales his ſon, who was lately eſcaped from priſon, beſieged Yſtratmeyric caſtle, and after ſome ſmall oppo-

oppoſition got into his own hands upon Chriſtmas night; which encouraged him to farther attempts. And at the ſame time, his brother Howel, ſurnamed Says, or the Engliſhman, by reaſon that he had ſerved for ſome time under the king of England, another ſon of Prince Rhys, got by ſurpriſe the caſtle of Gwys, and having ſecured Philip de Gwys the owner, with his wife and two ſons, he made them all priſoners of war. Then the two brothers Howel and Maelgon joined their forces; but fearing that they had more caſtles than what they were able to defend, they thought it convenient to raſe Lhanhayaden caſtle; which the Flemings having notice of, they gathered all their power together, and coming to Lhanhayaden at the day appointed, they unexpectedly ſet upon the Welch, and ſlew a great number of them. But notwithſtanding this ſudden and unhappy accident, they thought it neceſſary to deſtroy the caſtle; and ſo coming to Lhanhayaden the ſecond time, they raſed it to the ground, without any moleſtation from, or appearance of any enemy to diſturb them. But when Anarawd, another ſon of Prince Rhys, ſaw how proſperouſly his brothers ſucceeded, he thought to make himſelf as rich as they, and by a ſhorter and an eaſier method; and therefore having under a ſmooth pretence of friendſhip and love got his brothers Howel and Madawc in private, being moved with ambition and covetouſneſs to enjoy their eſtates, he firſt made them priſoners, and then very unnaturally pulled out their eyes. But Maelgon eſcaped this ſnare, and hearing what a foul action was committed, he promiſed his brother Anarawd the caſtle of Yſtratmeyric, for the liberty and releaſement of his two brothers, which Anarawd granted. But it is no wonder that A. D. 1194. thoſe brothers could be unnatural and cruel to one another, who could join and agree to rebel againſt their father; and now Prince Rhys having rebuilt the caſtle of Rhayadr Gwy, was laid wait for, and taken priſoner by his own ſons, who were afraid, that in caſe their father had them once in his power, he would ſeverely revenge their cruel and unnatural deeds. But Howel proved more kind and dutiful than the reſt;

who, though blind, found a way to let his father eſcape out of Maelgon's priſon, and ſo Prince Rhys being ſet at liberty, he took and deſtroyed the caſtle of Dynefowr, which belonged to his ſon Maelgon. But tho' he ſucceeded in this attempt, yet he loſt another caſtle elſewhere; for the ſons of Cadwalhon ap Madawc of Melyenydh being informed that Prince Rhys was detained priſoner by his ſon Maelgon, they beſieged Rhayadr Gwy caſtle, which being ſurrendered up to them, they fortified for their own uſe.

But whilſt theſe unhappy differences, and unnatural claſhings betwixt Prince Rhys and his ſons, continue and rage in South Wales, a new revolution of affairs happened in North Wales. Prince David had now enjoyed the ſceptre of North Wales for above twenty-four years; and one would think, that ſo long a poſſeſſion would ſecure him in his throne, that it could not be very eaſy to pull him down. But poſſeſſion is not always the ſureſt card, which proved very true in Prince David's caſe at this time; for Lhewelyn the ſon of Iorwerth Drwyndwn, who was the eldeſt ſon of Owen Gwynedh prince of North Wales, being now arrived to years of maturity, and having ſenſe enough to underſtand what a juſt title and claim he had to the principality of North Wales, of which his uncle David had ſo unjuſtly kept him out; he thought it high time to endeavour to recover what was lawfully his own, which however he was well perſuaded his uncle David would never eaſily part with. And therefore being well aſſured that the juſtneſs of his title would never mount him up to the throne, without he had an army at his heels to help him on; he called together all his friends and relations by his mother's ſide, who was Marred the daughter of Madawc ap Meredith prince of Powys, and having drawn to his ſide his couſins the ſons of Conon ap Owen Gwynedh, and Rhodri ap Owen, he came into North Wales, proclaiming how againſt all juſtice his uncle David had firſt diſinherited his father Iorwerth, and then had kept the government from him who was the right heir. And though his father Iorwerth had been incap-

able

able of taking upon him the government by reaſon of ſome infirmity; yet there was no reaſon that his father's weakneſs ſhould exclude and turn him out; and therefore, being now ſenſible of what he was not capable to underſtand in his youth, he laid claim to the principality, which was juſtly his own. But there was no great need of conjuring to underſtand his claim, nor of much rhetorick to perſuade the people to own him for their prince; whoſe affection was cooled, and almoſt worn off from David, ever ſince he had dealt ſo unnaturally with his brothers, whom after he had deprived of their eſtates, he baniſhed out of the country. And therefore before Lhewelyn could expect to have any ſure footing, the whole country of North Wales was at his devotion, excepting only three caſtles, which David by the help of the Engliſh, in whom, by reaſon of his affinity with the late King Henry, he depends much upon, kept to himſelf. And thus David being deprived of almoſt all that he formerly poſſeſſed, we ſhall reckon him no more among the princes of North Wales, but reſtore the principality to the true heir Lhewelyn ap Iorwerth.

LHEWELYN AP IORWERTH.

LHEWELYN ap Iorwerth the ſon of Owen Gwynedh, having thus ſucceſsfully carried on his juſt claim to the dominion of North Wales, and being quietly ſettled in the government of it, Roger Mortimer marches with a ſtrong body to Melyenith, and built the caſtle of Cymaron, whereby he reduced that country to his ſubjection, and forced thence the two ſons of Cadwalhon ap Madawc that were governors thereof. About this time Rhys and Meredith, two valiant, but undutiful ſons of Prince Rhys, having got together a body of hot-headed, daring ſoldiers, came before Dynefawr, and took the caſtle that was garriſoned by their father's men: hence they proceeded to Cantre-Fychan, where the country civily

received them, and ſurrendered up the caſtle to them. At this their father was juſtly incenſed, and therefore to put a ſtop to their farther proceedings, he endeavoured by all means to take them, which not long after happened; for their adherents now began to be touched with the ſenſe as well of their treaſon againſt, as of their allegiance due to their lawful lord Prince Rhys; and therefore to atone for their paſt faults, and to procure his futute favour, they betrayed their rebellious leaders to their offended father, who immediately committed them to ſafe cuſtody.

The enſuing year Prince Rhys levies a great army,
A.D. 1196. whoſe firſt attempt was upon the town and caſtle of Caermadthyn, both which he took in a ſhort time and deſtroyed, and then returned with conſiderable booty. Not long after he led the ſaid army to the marches, and inveſted the caſtle of Clun, which was not ſo eaſily taken as the former; for this coſt him a long ſiege, and many a fierce aſſault; and therefore to be revenged of it, when he took it he laid it in aſhes; thence he proceeded to the caſtle of Radnor, which he likewiſe won; but immediately after it coſt him a bloody battle; for he was no ſooner maſter of the caſtle, but Roger Mortimer and Hugh de Say came with a numerous and well-diſciplined army, conſiſting of Normans and Engliſh, to the relief of it. Whereupon Prince Rhys thinking it not his beſt courſe to confine his men within the walls, led them up into a champaign ground hard by, and there, like a valiant prince, reſolved to give his enemies battle, though they had much the advantage of him; for his men were neither ſo well armed, nor ſo much accuſtomed to battle as the others were; however, their courage made amends for their arms; and their leader's prudence and conduct ſupplied the defects of their diſcipline; for they choſe rather to die honourably in the defence of their country, than ſhamefully to ſurvive the loſs of it: and therefore they attacked their enemies ſo valiantly, that they were not long able to withſtand their force, but quitted the field in great diſorder, leaving a great number of their men behind them

them ſlain upon the ſpot; and Prince Rhys purſued them ſo warmly, that they were glad of the ſhelter of the night to protect them from his fury. After this victory, he beſieged the caſtle of Payne in Elfel, which he eaſily took, and kept in his own hands, till William de Bruce, the owner thereof, came to him, and humbly deſired peace of him, which he granted him, and withal delivered him up his caſtle again. Not long after, the archbiſhop of Canterbury (whom King Richard had ſubſtituted his lieutenant in England) marches with a powerful army towards Wales, and beſieges the caſtle of Gwenwynwyn, at the pool; but the garriſon made ſuch a vigorous defence, that he loſt a great many of his men, and all his attempts proved ineffectual; therefore he ſent for ſome pioneers, whom he ordered to undermine the walls; which when the beſieged underſtood, they bethought of ſecuring themſelves on the moſt honourable terms they could; they were not willing to put themſelves to the hazard of a battle, for their enemies were thrice their number; therefore they propoſed to ſurrender up the caſtle, on condition they ſhould carry off all their arms along with them: which offer the archbiſhop accepted of, and ſo permitted the garriſon to march out quietly. Then fortifying the caſtle for the king's uſe, and putting a ſtrong garriſon in it for its defence, he returned again to England. But Gwenwynwyn was not ſo willing to part from his caſtle, as never to attempt the recovery of it; therefore as ſoon as he underſtood that the archbiſhop was gone back, he immediately beſieged it, and ſhortly after received it on the ſame terms that his men had delivered it up, and afterwords kept it for his own uſe.

The following year there broke out a terrible plague, which ſpread over all Britain and France, and carried off a great number of the nobility, beſides common people. This year likewiſe died the valiant Rhys, Prince of South Wales; the only ſtay and defence of that part of Wales; for he it was that got them their liberty, and ſecured it to them. He often very readily expoſed his own life for the defence of

A. D. 1197. theirs and their country; generally he got the better of his enemies, and at laſt either brought them entirely under his ſubjection, or forced them to quit their country. He was no leſs illuſtrious for his virtuous endowments, than for his valour and extraction; ſo that it was with good reaſon that the Britiſh bards and others wrote ſo honourably of him, and ſo mightily deplored his death.

To this prince were born many ſons and daughters, whereof his eldeſt ſon Gruffydh ſucceeded him: the others were Cadwalhon, Maelgon, Meredith, and Rhys. Of his daughters, one called Gwenlhian was married to Ednyfed Fychan, anceſtor to Owen Tudor that married Katharine queen-dowager to King Henry the Fifth: and the reſt were very well matched with ſome of the nobility of the country. Prince Gruffydh being ſettled in the government of his country, did not long enjoy it peaceably; for his troubleſome brother Maelgon thought it now a fit time to endeavour the recovery of the inheritance his father had deprived him of. To this purpoſe he makes a league with Gwenwynwyn, the ſon of Owen Cyfeilioc, lord of Powys, and by their joint intereſt got together a conſiderable body of men, wherewith they ſurpriſed Prince Gruffydh at Aberyſtwyth, whom, after they had ſlain a great many of his men, they took priſoner. Thus Maelgon effectually accompliſhed his deſign in the recovery of the caſtle, and the whole country of Cardigan. His unfortunate brother he committed to the cuſtody of his ſpiteful confederate Gwenwynwyn, who immediately out of malice delivered him up to the mercy of his inveterate enemies the Engliſh. After this Gwenwynwyn having got together an army entered Aruſtly, and brought it to his ſubjection.

David ap Owen, whom Prince Lhewelyn had forced to quit his uſurpation of the principality of North Wales, had hitherto lived quietly and peaceably, not ſo much out of kindneſs to his nephew, as becauſe he knew not how to redreſs himſelf; but now having got a great army of Engliſh and Welch, he uſed his utmoſt efforts to recover his principality. Whereupon Prince

Lhewelyn

Lhewelyn who was the right heir, and in poſſeſſion of it, came on boldly to meet him, and gave him battle, wherein he ſhamefully routed his army, and took his uncle David priſoner, whom he delivered into ſafe cuſtody, whereby he ſecured to himſelf and his country peace and quietneſs. Towards the cloſe of this year Owen Cyfeilioc lord of the Higher Powys departed this life, and left his eſtate to Gwenwynwyn his ſon; after whom that part of Powys was called Powys-Wenwynwyn, to diſtingniſh it from the other called Powys-Fadoc, the inheritance of the lords of Bromfield. Much about this time Trahaern Fychan, a man of great power and authority in the county of Brecknock, was ſuddenly ſeized upon as he was going to Llancors to confer about ſome buſineſs with William de Bruce lord thereof, and by an order of the lords, tied to an horſe's tail and dragged through the ſtreets of Brecknock to the gallows, where he was beheaded, and his body hung up by the feet for three days. Which barbarity inflicted on him for no known juſt cauſe, ſo frightened his brother's wife and children, that they fled their country for fear of the ſame uſage. The year following Maelgon, who had before routed A. D. 1198. his brother Prince Gruffydh's army, and taken him priſoner, begins now to enlarge his territories, and takes in his brother's caſtles of Aberteifi and Yſtratmeyric. Alſo the youngeſt ſon of Prince Rhys about this time recovered the caſtle of Dynefowr from the Normans.

The ſame ſummer, Gwenwynwyn took up a reſolution of attempting to extend Wales to its antient limits; and for this purpoſe he raiſes a powerful army, with which he firſt deſigns to be avenged of William de Bruce for the inhuman death of his couſin Trahaern Fychan, and therefore he beſiegeth his caſtle of Payn in Elfel, where he makes a proteſtation, that as ſoon as he had taken it, for a farther ſatisfaction to his revenge, he would unmercifully ravage the whole country as far as Severn. But theſe mighty menaces were ſoon blown over; for he had neither battering engines nor pioneers, ſo that he was forced to lay before

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the caſtle for three weeks without effecting any thing; whereby the murderers had time enough to apply themſelves to England for ſuccours, which they obtained. For upon this Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, Lord Chief Juſtice of England levies a conſiderable army, to which he joins all the Lords Marchers, and comes in all haſte to the relief of the place, where he meets Gwenwynwyn; with whom before he would hazard a battle, he was deſirous to have a treaty of peace, to which Gwenwynwyn and his adherents would in nowiſe hearken or condeſcend, but returned in anſwer, that their buſineſs there was to be revenged of old injuries done them. Hereupon the Engliſh lords reſolved to enlarge Prince Gruffydh of South Wales, whom they knew to be an inveterate enemy of Gwenwynwyn, as he that delivered him up to their hands; and likewiſe to be a man of great authority in his country, therefore they rightly concluded he might be more ſerviceable to them when at liberty than under confinement, wherein they were not diſappointed; for he immediately got together a ſtrong body of his countrymen, and joining with the Engliſh advanced towards the caſtle, where they furiouſly attacked Gwenwynwyn, who made no leſs vigorous defence; hereupon there enſued a bloody battle, with a great ſlaughter on both ſides, but at length the Engliſh got the victory, and Gwenwynwyn loſt a great number of common ſoldiers (if we believe Matthew Paris, 3700 men) beſides a great many of his beſt commanders, among whom were Anarawd, ſon of Eineon, Owen ap Cadwalhon, Richard ap Ieſtyn, and Robert ap Howel. Meredith ap Conan was likewiſe taken priſoner, with many more. After this the Engliſh returned home triumphantly, and requited Prince Gruffydh's ſervice with a perfect liberty, who immediately, partly by his own force, partly by the affection of his people, repoſſeſſed himſelf of all his dominions, ſave the caſtles of Aberteifi and Yſtratmeyric, which his uſurping brother Maelgon, by the aſſiſtance of Gwenwynwyn, had, during his confinement by the Engliſh, taken from him, and ſtill unjuſtly detained. Hereupon, ſome

ſome of Prince Gruffydh's prime nobility and clergy came to him, and offered him their endeavours of reconciling him to his brother, and made him ſo apprehenſive of his juſt diſpleaſure at him, that he took a ſolemn oath before them, that in caſe his brother would give him hoſtages for the ſecurity of his own perſon, he would deliver him up his caſtle of Aberteifi by a day appointed; which propoſals Prince Gruffydh accepted of, and accordingly ſent him his demands: but it was the leaſt of Maelgon's intention to make good his part, or elſe he was very inconſtant in his reſolution; for he had no ſooner received the hoſtages, but inſtead of delivering up the caſtle, he fortifies it, and puts in a garriſon for his own uſe, and commits the hoſtages to the cuſtody of Gwenwynwyn, Prince Gruffydh's mortal enemy; but not long after, their innocency procured them an opportunity of an eſcape.

In the year 1199, Maelgon ſtill purſuing his hatred of his brother Prince Gruffydh, gets an army, wherewith he beſiegeth his caſtle of Dynerth, which he was maſter of in a ſhort time, and then put all the garriſon to the ſword. But about the ſame time Prince Gruffydh in lieu of this, won the caſtle of Cilgerran, and ſtrongly fortified it. This year Richard the Firſt of England, as he was beſieging the caſtle of Chalons in France, was ſhot from the walls with an arrow, whereof he not long after died, and left his kingdom to his brother John, who thereupon was with great ſolemnity crowned at Weſtminſter. But he could not expect to enjoy this kingdom peaceably; for his elder brother Geoffrey Plantagenet had left a ſon behind him named Arthur, whoſe right to the crown of England was by lineal deſcent; which now therefore he juſtly lays claim to, and by the aſſiſtance of King Philip of France (who eſpouſed his quarrel) endeavours to recover. But before Prince Arthur had made ſufficient preparations to carry on his deſign, he was unexpectedly ſet upon by his uncle, his army routed, and he himſelf taken priſoner, and committed to A. D. 1199.

ſafe

ſafe cuſtody; not long after which, he died, and ſo King John was rid of his competitor.

A. D. 1200. The following year Gruffydh ap Conan ap Owen Gwynedh died, and was buried in a monk's cawl in the abbey of Conway, which way of burying was very much practiſed (eſpecially by the better ſort) in thoſe days; for the monks and friars had deluded the people into a ſtrong conceit of the merits of it, and had firmly perſuaded them it was highly conducive to their future happineſs to be thus interred. But this ſuperſtition, together with the propagators of it, they had lately received from England: for the firſt abbey or monaſtery we read of in Wales, ſince the deſtruction of that famous houſe of Bangor, which favoured of Romiſh dregs, was the Ty-Gwyn built in the year 1146, after which they mightily increaſed and ſpread over all the country; and now the fountain head began to be corrupted; for the clergy maintained a doctrine which their anceſtors abhorred, as may eaſily be gathered from the writings of that worthy divine Ambroſius Teleſinus, who flouriſhed in the year 540, when the chriſtian faith (which we ſuppoſe to be delivered at the iſle of Afalon by Joſeph of Arimathea) flowed in this land in a pure and uncorrupted ſtream, before it was infected and polluted by that proud and blood-thirſty monk Auguſtine. I ſay, he then wrote and left behind him as his own opinion, and the opinion of thoſe days, theſe following verſes:

Gwae'r offeiriad byd
Nys angreifftia gwyd
Ac ny phregetha:
Gwae ny cheidw ei gail
Ac ef yn figail
Ac nys areilia;
Gwae ni cheidw ei dhefaid
Rhae bleidhie Rhufeniaid
A'i ffon gnwppa.

i. e. Woe be to the biſhop who does not rebuke vice, and give good example; and who does not preach.

preach. Woe be to him, if he does not keep well his fold: and he a ſhepherd. And does not keep together and guard his ſheep from popiſh wolves, with his paſtoral ſtaff.

From whence it is apparent, that the Church of Rome was then corrupt, and that the Britiſh churches perſevered in the primitive and truly apoſtolical profeſſion of chriſtianity, as it was at firſt planted in the iſland; and that no Roman innovations had crept in among them, which afterwards mightily increaſed, when they were once introduced by Auguſtine the monk.

This year likewiſe we find the ſpiteful and turbulent Maelgon, chooſing rather to perſiſt ſtill in his rebellion, than to return to his allegiance, and to prefer a ſmall lucre to the love and ſafety of his country. For now finding that the caſtle of Aberteifi was not tenable by his own power and force, yet rather than deliver it up to his brother Prince Gruffydh, and thereby procure his favour, he choſe to ſell it to his bitter enemies the Engliſh, for an inconſiderable ſum of money, whereby he opened them a free paſſage into all Wales; this being reckoned one of its chief defences and bulwarks. About this time Madawc ſon of Gruffydh Maylor lord of Bromfield built the abbey of Lanegweſt, commonly known by the Engliſh by the name of Vale Crucii.

In the year 1201, the valiant Lhewelyn ap Ior- A. D. 1201.
werth, prince of North Wales baniſhed out of his territories his couſin Meredith the ſon of Conan ap Owen Gwynedh, whom he ſuſpected of treaſonable practices, and therefore confiſcated his lands which were the Cantref of Lhyn and Efyonyth. Much about the ſame time Meredith the ſon of Prince Rhys was ſlain at Carnwilhion by treaſon, whereupon his elder brother Gruffydh poſſeſſed himſelf of his caſtle in Lhanymdhyfri and all his lands. This Gruffydh was a valiant and diſcreet prince, and one that was like to bring all South Wales

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to good order and obedience; for in all things he trod in his father's ſteps, and made it his buſineſs to ſucceed him as well in his valour and virtuous endowments, as in his government. But the vaſt hopes
A.D. 1202. conceived of him ſoon proved abortive; for in the enſuing year, on St. James's day, he died, to the great grief and loſs of his country, and ſhortly after was buried at Yſtratflur with great pomp and ſolemnity. He left behind him for a ſucceſſor a ſon called Rhys, which Maud the daughter of William de Bruce had bore him. The following year ſome of the Welch nobility marched with an army towards the caſtle of Gwerthrynion, which belonged to Roger Mortimer, and after a ſhort ſiege, they took it and levelled it with the ground.

This year Lhewelyn ap Iorwerth calling to mind his eſtate and title, and how all the Welch princes were obliged both by the laws of Roderic the Great, and thoſe of Howel Dha to acknowledge the king or prince of North Wales for their ſovereign lord, and to do homage to him for their dominions: yet notwithſtanding that they knew this to be their duty, and that they formerly had readily performed it; yet becauſe of late years his predeceſſors, had neglected to call them to their duty, they now began to imagine themſelves exempted from it; and ſome thought themſelves accountable to no ſuperior prince; others denied ſubjection to Prince Lhewelyn, and held their dominions of the king of England. To put a ſtop therefore to the further growth of this contempt, and to aſſert his own right, Prince Lhewelyn ſummons all the Welch lords, who for the moſt part appeared and ſwore allegiance to him. But Gwenwynwyn lord of Powys, neither came to this meeting, nor would own the prince's ſupremacy; which ſtubborneſs and diſobedience the prince acquainted his lords with, whereupon they delivered their opinion, that it was but reaſonable, that Gwenwynwyn ſhould be compelled to his duty, or elſe forfeit his eſtate: this all the lords conſented to, but Elis ap Madawc, who was an intimate friend of Gwenwynwyn, and therefore would

would not conſent to the enacting any thing that might be prejudicial to him, but broke off from the meeting much diſſatisfied with their proceedings. Notwithſtanding which, Prince Lhewelyn, purſuant to the advice of the reſt of his lords, raiſes an army, and marches towards Powys; but before he made any uſe of it, he was by the mediation of ſome learned and able men reconciled to Gwenwynwyn, and ſo Gwenwynwyn became his dutiful ſubject; which he confirmed both by oath and writing: and indeed it was not without good reaſon, that Prince Lhewelyn uſed all the caution imaginable to bind this man; for he had ſworn allegiance before to the king of England. Lhewelyn having thus ſubjected Gwenwynwyn, he thought it now convenient to ſhew likewiſe ſome marks of his reſentments againſt his adherent Elis ap Madawc, and therefore he ſtript him of all his lands; whereupon Elis fled the country, but not long after, yielding himſelf to the prince's mercy, he received of him the caſtle of Crogen, and ſeven townſhips beſides. And now having mentioned Crogen, it will not be improper to ſtep a little out of the way, and here take notice of the reaſon why the Engliſh formerly, when they had a mind to reproach the Welch, called them Crogens. The firſt occaſion of it was this, King Henry the Second in his expedition againſt the Welch to the mountains of Berwin, lay a while at Oſweſtre, during which time he detached a number of his men to try the paſſages into Wales, who as they would have paſſed Offa's ditch at the caſtle of Crogen, at which place there was a narrow way through the ſame ditch, which appears now very deep through all that country, and bears its old name; theſe men, I ſay, as they would have paſſed this ſtreight, were met by a party of Welch, and a great many of them ſlain and buried in that ditch, as appears by their graves there to be ſeen; and the name of the ſtreight imports as much, being called in Welch *Adwy'r bedhaw*. The Engliſh therefore bearing in mind this ſlaughter, whenever they got any of the Welch into their clutches, upbraided them with the name of Crogen, intimating thereby

thereby that they ſhould expect no more favour or mercy at their hands, than they ſhewed them in the ſkirmiſh. But this word, which at firſt was rather a badge of reputation than diſgrace to the Welch, came afterwards to be uſed in a bad ſenſe, and only then applied when they deſigned to reproach and abuſe them. But to return to Prince Lhewelyn, whom we find returning home after he had ſucceſsfully aſſerted his ſovereignty over all Wales, and ſet all things in good order: And by the way he fortifies the caſtle of Bala in Penlhyn. About this time Rhys the ſon of Gruffydh ap Rhys the right prince of South-Wales took the caſtle of Lhanymdhyfry upon Michaelmas-day. This year Lhewelyn Prince of Wales took to wife Joan the daughter of king John, which Agatha daughter of Robert Ferrers Earl of Derby bore him, with whom he gave the Prince for a dowry the lordſhip of Elſmere in the marches of Wales.

A. D. 1203. Prince Rhys whom we mentioned the year before to have taken the caſtle of Lhanymdhyfri, wins likewiſe the caſtle of Llangadoc, and puts a garriſon therein; but he enjoyed neither of them long; for ſhortly after, his uncle Maelgon, with his friend Gwenwynwyn, levied a powerful army, and with it beſieged and took the caſtle of Lhanymdhyfri; thence they removed to Llangadoc, and wan the caſtle likewiſe, upon this condition, that the garriſon be permitted to march out quietly. When they had taken theſe two caſtles, they went to Dinerth, where Maelgon finiſhed the caſtle he had formerly begun there. This year likewiſe Prince Lhewelyn ſet at liberty his uncle David ap Owen Gwynedh, who made but a ſorry return to his kindneſs; for inſtead of living peaceably at home, and enjoying that liberty that was granted him, he flees to England, and there gets an army, wherewith he attempts to reſtore himſelf to his antient eſtate of North-Wales; but he miſſed his mark; for his prudent nephew immediately met him on his march, and gave him a ſhameful overthrow, wherewith David was ſo mightily diſheartened, that he

he preſently returned for England, and ſhortly after died for meer ſorrow. The next year Howel, a blind A. D. 1204.
ſon of Prince Rhys was ſlain at Camaes by his brother Maelgon's men, and buried juſt by his brother Gruffydh at Yſtratflur. But notwithſtanding that, Maelgon in thoſe days uſurped all the rule and government of South Wales; yet his brother Gruffydh's ſons, Rhys and his brethren, won from him the chief defence of all that country, to wit, the caſtles of Dynefowr and Lhanymdhyfri. About this time William Marſhal Earl of Pembrock, beſieged the caſtle of Cilgerran, and took it; and not long after, Mael- 1205.
gon hired an Iriſhman to kill Gadifor ap Griffri; after which horrid fact, Maelgon ſeized upon his four ſons, and put them to death; theſe were forward promiſing young gentlemen, and deſcended from a noble ſtock; for their mother Suſanna was a daughter of the ſaid Howel ap Rhys, by a daughter of Madawc ap Meredith Prince of Powis. In the year 1206, Maelgon 1206.
built a caſtle at Abereneon. At which time there was ſuch abundance of fiſh ſeen at Aberyſtwyth, that the like number was never known to have come there in the memory of man before.

This year the king of England baniſhed the realm 1207.
William de Bruce and his wife, on the account of a grudge that he bore his ſon, and then ſeized upon all his lands; whereupon, William with his wife and ſon fled to Ireland, and there continued for ſome time. And this hardſhip he now underwent was the leſs pitied, becauſed he exerciſed the great power he had in the marches of Wales with extreme cruelty and injuſtice. The ſame year Gwenwynwyn came to Shrewſbury to ſpeak with the king's council, where he was detained priſoner: Whereupon Prince Lhewelyn conquered all his country, took all his towns and caſtles, and garriſoned them for his own uſe. This expedition of Prince Lhewelyn mightily alarmed the uſurping Maelgon, and the more, becauſe he had intelligence that Lhewelyn was on his march towards South Wales; therefore he now puts himſelf in the beſt poſture he could to receive him; but finding

ſelf not able to abide the Prince's coming, and to withſtand his forces, he demoliſheth his caſtles of Aberyſtwyth, Yſtratmeyric, and Dinerth, which before he had fortified. Notwithſtanding which, the Prince comes to Aberyſtwyth, and rebuildeth the caſtle and puts a garriſon therein; after this he ſeized upon the Cantref of Penwedic and the land betwixt Dyfi and Aeron which he gave to Maelgon's nephews the ſons of Gruffydh ap Rhys, and then returned home with great joy and triumph. Not long after Rhys Fychan, ſon to Prince Rhys, beſieged the caſtle Lhangadoc, and took it, contrary to the promiſe and league he had made with his nephews, forgetting likewiſe how freely and readily they had adminiſtered to him in his neceſſity; therefore to be revenged of this ingratitude and breach of promiſe, Rhys and Owen no ſooner heard of it, but they furiouſly attacked the caſtle, and took it by aſſault, and put to the ſword, or took priſoners all the garriſon, and then burnt the caſtle to the ground.

A. D. 1209. This year King John levied a powerful army with which he made a voyage to Ireland; but as he was on the borders of Wales on his journey thitherwards, there was a criminal brought before him who had murdered a prieſt. The officer deſired to know the king's pleaſure, how he would have the delinquent puniſhed; but the king, inſtead of ordering any puniſhment to be inflicted upon him ſuitable to the heinouſneſs of his crime diſcharged him with a *Well done* thou *good* ſervant, thou haſt ſlain mine enemy; for ſuch he reckoned the clergy of thoſe days, who were very ill-affected to his uſurped, arbitrary government, and therefore he ſlightly regarded any injuries that were done them, nay, thought thoſe did him good ſervice who did them wrong, He had not been long in Ireland, but he got into his clutches the unfortunate William de Bruce the younger, and his mother Mawd de Saint Valerike, whom we have mentioned before to have quitted England for fear of him, and to have fled here for ſhelter. Upon his return to England he brought theſe in triumph along with him, and committed

mitted them to Windſor caſtle, where, by his orders, not long after they were inhumanly famiſhed. The reaſon of King John's diſpleaſure againſt William de Bruce Lord of Brecknock, Matthew Paris delivers, to be this; Page 303.

When the Pope had excommunicated the realm of England, the king, to prevent any inconveniencies that might enſue thereupon, took pledges of ſuch of his nobles as he thought were diſaffected to him, and would be like, if occaſion offered, to countenance and promote a rebellion. Amongſt others, he ſends meſſengers to William de Bruce to demand his ſons for pledges, to whom Mawd, de Bruce's wife, being the readier ſpeaker, anſwered, (though what ſhe ſaid was no leſs her huſband's ſentiment than her own) That the king, who had proved ſo baſe a guardian to his nephew Prince Arthur, whom inſtead of ſetting in, he deprived of his right, ſhould have none of her children. This anſwer the meſſengers delivered to the king, whereat he was ſo highly diſpleaſed, that he ordered ſome ſoldiers ſhould be ſent to ſeize this lord; but he having timely intelligence of this order, fled into Ireland with his wife and children, where now his wife Mawd, with her ſon, were unfortunately taken by King John, but he himſelf eſcaped, and fled into France, where not long after he died.

This year the Earl of Cheſter rebuilt the caſtle of Dyganwy, ſituate on the ſea-ſhore, eaſt of the river Conway, which Prince Lhewelyn had before demoliſhed. He likewiſe fortifies the caſtle of Treffynon or St. Wenefrid. Upon this Lhewelyn enters into the Earl's land, which when he had ravaged ſufficiently, he returns home with conſiderable booty. About this time, Rhys Fychan ſon to Prince Rhys, fearing leſt Prince Lhewelyn ſhould fall upon him for the wrong he had done to his nephews, whom he, Prince Lhewelyn, ſtiffly defended in their right; made his application to the king of England, who readily granted him what ſuccours he deſired; and with theſe he beſieged the caſtle of Lhanymdhyfri; the garriſon for ſome time made a vigorous defence, but having

no hopes of any relief, they thought it their wiſeſt courſe to capitulate, and ſo they deſired they might march out with their arms, bag and baggage, and all that belonged to them, which was granted them. About this time likewiſe Gwenwynwyn was ſet at liberty, whom the king had hitherto detained priſoner, and withal lends him ſome forces to attempt the recovery of his country which Prince Lhewelyn had ſeized upon during his impriſonment; and though by his own ſtrength he was not able to cope with the Prince, yet by this aſſiſtance granted him by the king, he ſoon re-poſſeſſed himſelf of his dominions. This ſucceſs of Gwenwynwyn encouraged Maelgon likewiſe to endeavour the recovery of that part of his country which the Prince had taken from him in the ſame expedition. Now he makes his application to the king of England, and ſwears allegiance to him. Hereupon the king grants him a conſiderable army as well Engliſh as Normans; to theſe he joins what forces he could raiſe in Wales, and then contrary to the oath and agreement he had made with his nephews Rhys and Owen, he in an hoſtile manner enters their country; when he was come to Cantred Penwedic, he encamped at Cilcenny where he ſtaid ſome time to take meaſures for the better accompliſhment of his deſigns; by this time his nephews had got together about 300 choſen well diſciplined men, but with ſo ſmall a number durſt not oppoſe their uncle's numerous army in open field; therefore they were to endeavour to overthrow thoſe by a ſtratagem which they could not do by main force. Herein they proved very ſucceſsful, for coming as near their enemies as they could without being diſcovered, they ſent out their ſpies that night for intelligence, who brought back the good news, that all was quiet in Maelgon's camp, and that they kept no ſtrict watch, being not aware of an approaching enemy. This intelligence mightily encouraged the brothers to proſecute their deſigns, and now they march as ſilently as they can towards their enemies camp, where they met with no oppoſition, being not diſcovered becauſe all were faſt aſleep.

aſleep. When they were advanced as they thought as far as Maelgon's tent, they furiouſly fell on, and ſlew a great number of his men before they awaked; the reſt being frightened with the noiſe and ſhouts of their enemies, and withal thinking their numbers to be far greater than it was, were glad to make uſe of the darkneſs of the night to quit the field, only Maelgon's guard valiantly kept their poſt, and defended their lord till he had time and opportunity to eſcape. But Maelgon's army ſuffered very much in this action, his nephew Conan ap Howel with his chief counſellor Gruffydh ap Cadwgan were both taken priſoners, and Eineon ap Caradoc with a great number more were ſlain upon the ſpot. About the ſame time Gilbert Earl of Gloceſter fortified the caſtle of Buelht, where a little before he had loſt a conſiderable number of his men, by reaſon that the place was not very ſtrong and tenable. And towards the concluſion of this year, Mallt or Mawd de Bruce, the wife of Gruffydh ap Rhys departed this life, and was interred by her huſband in a monk's coul in Yſtratflur.

But the following year a great ſtorm threatened North Wales, by reaſon that the Marchers made frequent and grievous complaints to King John how that Prince Lhewelyn perpetually moleſted their country, ſlew their men, and committed all the waſte and deſtruction poſſible as he paſſed along. The king hearing of ſuch intolerable depredations continually exerciſed by the North Wales men, thought it high time to redreſs his ſubjects, and therefore he raiſed a mighty army throughout all England, and called to him all the lords and princes of Wales as held their lands and patents from him, as Howel ap Gruffydh ap Conan ap Owen Gwynedh, whom Prince Lhewelyn had baniſhed out of North Wales: Madoc ap Gruffydh Maylor lord of Bromfield, Chirke and Yale, Meredith ap Rotpert Lord of Cydewen, Gwenwynwyn Lord of Powis, Maelgon and Rhys the ſons of Prince Rhys and governors of South Wales. With this formidable army he came to Cheſter, intending to enter

into North Wales by that way, and being fully reſolved to execute the ſevereſt vengeance upon the inhabitants, and not to let one living ſoul remain alive throughout the whole country. But matters of this nature are eaſier reſolved upon, than accompliſhed; Prince Lhewelyn was no ſooner informed of theſe mighty preparations againſt him, comprehending the whole ſtrength of the Engliſh nation, and what was worſt of all, being aſſiſted by his own countrymen, but he iſſued forth his orders, commanding all his ſubjects of the inland counties of Denbigh and Flint, together with them of the iſland of Angleſey, to remove for a time all their cattle and other effects to Snowden-hills, where they were ſure to remain ſecureſt from their enemies. But King John marched his army along the ſea-coaſt to Ruthlan, and there paſſing the river Clwyd, he came to the caſtle of Teganwy, where he encamped for ſome time to refreſh and recreate his army, which by reaſon of the long marches they made, was in a great meaſure weary and fatigued. But what the more augmented their miſery, Lhewelyn getting behind them, cut off all their hopes of proviſion from England, and the Welch by the advantage of being acquainted with the ſtraits and narrow paſſages, cut off all that ſtraggled from the Engliſh camp, ſo that in time, they were glad to take up with horſe-fleſh, and any thing were it never ſo mean, which might fill up their greedy and empty ſtomachs. At laſt King John finding no other remedy, and perceiving it impoſſible to continue longer there ſo hungry and faintly, thought it his wiſeſt way to march for England, and leave the Welch to themſelves, and ſo he decamped in a great fury, leaving Lhewelyn to bury that great number of dead, which had ſtarved in this ſucceſsleſs expedition. But to recover the honour he had now loſt, he was reſolved to try another touch with the Welch, but poſſibly not with the ſame confidence and aſſurance of victory. And therefore returning to Wales in the next Auguſt, he entered with ſuch another terrible army of Engliſh, and was aſ-

ſiſted

ſiſted by the ſame Welch lords, at Blanch monaſtery, now Oſweſtry, being in the lordſhip of John the ſon of William Fitzalan. In this expedition, King John paſſing the river Conwey, and encamping at the other ſide towards Snowden hills, ſent part of his army conducted by guides who were acquainted with the country, to burn Bangor, which they effectually did; and taking Rotpert biſhop of that ſee out of church, they carried him priſoner to the Engliſh camp, where he continued for ſome time, till he obtained his ranſom for a preſent of two hundred hawks. But Prince Lhewelyn finding the whole ſtrength of England and almoſt Wales to fight againſt him, and judging it impoſſible for himſelf alone, to withſtand ſo great a multitude, thought it his beſt way to endeavour to find out ſome method or other, to reconcile himſelf to the king. And no better meaſures could poſſibly be thought of, than to ſend Joan his wife, King John's daughter, to intreat with her father about a peace, and a ceſſation of all hoſtilities; who being a prudent, ſly woman, ſo prevailed upon the king, that he granted Prince Lhewelyn her huſband, a ſafe conduct to come to him, and to renew the former peace and amity that was betwixt them. And ſo Lhewelyn having done homage, promiſed the king towards his expences in this expadition, 20,000 head of cattle and 40 horſes, and what was more than all, he granted all the inland countries of Wales, with the appurtenances, to him and his heirs for ever. And then King John having received better ſucceſs in this, than the former expedition, returned to England in great triumph, having ſubdued all Wales, excepting that part which Rhys and Owen the ſons of Gruffydh ap Rhys, ſtill kept and maintained againſt the Engliſh. But having no leiſure to march againſt them himſelf at his departure out of the country, he gave ſtrict charge to Foulke Viſcount of Caerdyff, warden of the marches, a cruel tyrant, though well beloved and favoured by the king, to take an army with him, and ſo joining with Maelgon and Rhys Fychan, to compel the ſons

of Gruffydh ap Rhys to acknowledge him for their ſovereign, and to do him homage. Foulke having received ſo poſitive a command, preſently raiſed his forces, and calling Maelgon and Rhys, came to the Cantref of Penwedic; which when the young lords Rhys and Owen heard of, and being aſſured that this blow was levelled againſt them, which they knew they were not able to bear, before the ſtroke was ſtruck, they ſent to Foulke to ſue for peace, and a ſafe conduct for them to paſs to the court of England. This being granted, they came to London, and making their ſubmiſſion to the king, and requeſting his pardon for all former miſdemeanors, they gave up all pretence to their lands betwixt Aeron and Dyfi; and ſo paying their homage, they were diſmiſſed very graciouſly. But Foulke before his departure out of the country, fortified the caſtle of Aberyſtwyth, and placing a ſtrong garriſon therein, kept it for the king's uſe. But Maelgon and Rhys Fychan, a couple of headſtrong, inconſtant people, quickly repented them of the peace they had made with the king of England, and thereupon, without the leaſt reaſon or provocation, they laid ſiege to Aberyſtwyth caſtle, and with much ado having made themſelves maſters of it, they deſtroyed thoſe fortifications, which Foulke had lately erected, and defaced the caſtle to the ground. But they paid ſauce for this another way, for as ſoon as Rhys and Owen had heard that their uncles had broken and violated the king's peace, they made inroads into Iſaeron, which was Maelgon's country, and having ſlain a conſiderable number of his men, among whom was one brave and luſty youth called Bachglas, they returned with very rich booty.

A. D. 1211. Maelgon and Rhys Fychan were quickly followed by the North Wales men in their revolt from the king of England, for Prince Lhewelyn being not able to endure any longer the tyranny and oppreſſion which the king's garriſons exerciſed in his country; called together Gwenwynwyn from Powis, Maelgon ap Rhys from South Wales, Madoc ap Gruffydh Maylor from Bromfield, and Meredith ap Rotpert from Cydewen, and

plainly declared before them the pride and inſolency of the Engliſh, and how that they who were always uſed to have a prince of their own nation, were now by their own wilfulneſs and neglect become ſubject to ſtrangers. However, it was not too late to recover their antient liberty, and if they did but unanimouſly agree among themſelves, they might eaſily caſt off that yoke which was ſo intolerably burdenſome to them. Then the lords being ſenſible of the truth and reaſonableneſs of what Prince Lhewelyn delivered, and being conſcious to themſelves that their preſent ſlavery and ſubjection to the Engliſh, was wholly owing to their own fear and cowardice, ſwore fealty to Prince Lhewelyn, and ſwore to be true and faithful to him, and to ſtick by each other to the utmoſt of their lives and fortunes. And ſo joining their forces together, they took all the caſtles in North Wales which were in the hands of the Engliſh, excepting Ruthlan and Dyganwy; and then going to Powis, they laid ſiege to the caſtle which Robert Uſpont had built at Mathrafal. But King John being informed how the Welch had conſpired againſt him, and that they had taken and ſeized upon almoſt all his caſtles in North Wales, and how that they were now in actual beſiegement of Mathrafal, preſently drew up his army, and coming to Mathrafal, quickly raiſed the ſiege, and to prevent the Welch from coming any more againſt it, he burnt it to the ground and ſo returned to England, having no time to ſtay any longer in Wales, by reaſon of the differences that happened betwixt him and his nobility. But being afterwards at Nottingham, and hearing how that Prince Lhewelyn cruelly harraſſed and deſtroyed the marches, he cauſed all the Welch pledges which he had received the laſt year to be hanged, among whom were Howel the ſon of Cadwalhon, and Madoc the ſon of Maelgon, with many others of the nobility's ſons, to the number of twenty-eight. And about the ſame time Robert Vepont cauſed Rhys the ſon of Maelgon to be hanged at Shrewſbury, being a youth of about ſeventeen years

of

of age, and ſo cruelly murdered the innocent child to revenge the crimes and offences committed by his father and others.

But though King John was ſo ſevere to the Welch, yet the Princeſs of North Wales was more dutiful and favourable to him, for whilſt he ſtaid at Nottingham, ſhe ſent him an expreſs, declaring how that the barons had entered into a conſpiracy with the French king againſt him, and that the latter was preparing and raiſing an army to come over to England, upon pretence that the king was a rebel, and bid open defiance to the Holy Church, in as much as he would not condeſcend nor yield to the Biſhop of Rome's requeſt. And in confirmation of all this, ſhe told him that Robert Fitzwalter, Euſtace de Veſcy and Stephen Redell, were ſecretly fled into France, to promote and carry on this intrigue. And that this deſign againſt King John was no feigned ſurmiſe, the next
A. D. 1212. year Pope Innocent the Third detached one of his nuncios to Wales, who abſolved Prince Lhewelyn, Gwenwynwyn and Maelgon from their oaths of allegiance to King John, and withal gave them a ſtrict command under the penalty of excommunication, to moleſt and annoy him with all their endeavours, as an open enemy to the church of God. Prince Lhewelyn, you may be ſure, was not in the leaſt troubled at this, for now he gained the fitteſt opportunity imaginable, to reſtore ſuch lands as he had formerly much againſt his mind delivered up to the king, being in the inland country of Denbigh and Flint, which Lhewelyn at this time repoſſeſſed himſelf of. And well it was he was ſo quick, for within a little while after, King John by the perſuaſions of Pandulph the Pope's legate, granted his Holineſs all his requeſt, and ſo obtained abſolution at Pandulph's hands, and upon performance of his promiſes, an aſſurance of a releaſement from that Eccleſiaſtical Bull, which had ſo formidably roared againſt him.

1213. South Wales had now been quiet for a conſiderable time, and they that uſed to be commonly very turbulent and contentious, were now pretty eaſy and amicable.

amicable. But it was impoſſible that ſuch a peaceable courſe of life ſhould hold long, where injuſtice and oppreſſion had ſo much liberty, and where people were wrongfully kept out of their juſt and rightful inheritance. And this was the occaſion of the breach of that quietneſs, which for the two or three years laſt paſt they had ſo ſatisfactorily enjoyed. For Rhys the ſon of Gruffydh ap Rhys, who was right heir to Prince Rhys, finding he could have no ſhare of his father's eſtate, but that his uncles forcibly kept all from him, thought it his beſt way to make his caſe known to the king of England, and to deſire a remedy and redreſs from him. King John in compaſſion of the young man's hard condition, ſent to his deputy Foulke Viſcount of Caerdyff warden of the marches, and to the Steward of Hereford, commanding them to take away all Yſtratywy from Rhys Fychan, by ſome called Rhys Gryg, unleſs he would permit his nephews to enjoy Lhanymchyfry caſtle, with all the lands and priviledges thereunto belonging. Foulke having received ſuch orders from his maſter the king of England, ſent to acquaint Rhys of the propoſals, and ſo demand of him whether or no he would deliver up Lhanymdhyfry to his nephews, according to the king's command; who returned anſwer, that he did not know of any ſuch obligation due from him to the king of England as to part with his lands at his command, and therefore aſſured him peremptorily and in plain terms, that he would not willingly part with one foot of what he was in preſent poſſeſſion of. Foulke therefore having received this reſolute anſwer, was likewiſe as reſolute to get that by force which he could not obtain by fair means; and ſo having raiſed a great army, he marched to Talhwynelgain to meet with young Rhys, who was to come thither with all the forces he could raiſe in Brecknock; and from thence they marched in three battles towards Dynefawr, the firſt being commanded by young Rhys, the ſecond by Foulke and Owen brother to Rhys led the third, Rhys Fychan was not in the leaſt diſmayed at their number, but thinking

thinking it more adviſeable to meet them in the field, rather than ſuffer them to block him up at Dynefawr, came out very boldly, and gave them battle, but after a warm engagement on both ſides, Rhys Fychan in the end got the worſe, and after a loſs of a great number of his men, he was glad at laſt to make his eſcape by flight. And ſo retiring to Dynefawr, he doubled the garriſon of that place, but thinking the town of Lhandeilo-fawr not to be tenable, he burnt it to the ground, and then kept himſelf private in the woods and other deſart places. But young Rhys and Foulke laid ſiege to Dynefawr, and in the firſt aſſault came on ſo fiercely, that they forced the garriſon to retire to the caſtle, which for ſome time they defended very manfully. But the beſiegers began to play ſo violently with their battering engines, and to undermine the wall in ſuch a manner, that the governor after a ſhort defence began to capitulate, giving three pledges for ſecurity, that if they received no relief by the morrow at noon, the caſtle ſhould be ſurrendered up, conditionally that the garriſon ſhould march out with all the tokens of honour, and carry their arms and all other implements of war along with them. No relief being arrived, the caſtle the next day was accordingly ſurrendered, and all the articles of the capitulation obſerved; and ſo young Rhys being poſſeſſed of Dynefawr, in a little time afterward, brought all Cantreffawr to his ſubjection. When Rhys Fychan was ſenſible how the ſtream run violently againſt him, he thought it his wiſeſt way to remove his wife and children, and all his other effects, to his brother Maelgon's country, and ſo leaving Lhanymdhyfry caſtle well manned and fortified, he departed towards Aberyſtwyth. But as ſoon as Foulke was returned to the marches, young Rhys came with an army conſiſting of Welch and Normans before Lhanymdhyfry, intending to beſiege that place, but before they were encamped before the town, the governor thought it his beſt way to ſurrender, upon condition only, that the garriſon ſhould depart away with their lives. And

ſhortly

ſhortly afterwards, Rhys Fychan was taken at Caermardhyn, and committed to the king's priſon, and ſo all the diſturbances and troubles of South Wales came to a peaceable iſſue. But it was not ſo in North Wales, for Prince Lhewelyn being deſirous to rid his country from the inſupportable tyranny and oppreſſion of the Engliſh garriſons, laid ſiege to the caſtles of Dyganwy and Ruthlan, the only places now remaining in the hands of the Engliſh, which he took without any great oppoſition, and ſo freed his country from any title or pretence the king of England might claim in North Wales. King John indeed was engaged another way, and conſequently in no good condition to help himſelf, for having repented of all the indignities and ſtubbornneſs he expreſſed againſt Pope Innocent; at this time he received penance at the hands of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to atone for all the ſeverities he had practiſed againſt the church. And to reſtore himſelf the more to his Holineſs's favour he made the kingdom of England tributary to the church of Rome, to be holden of the Pope, in paying him the ſum of 1000 marks yearly for ever; and withal recalled and reſtored to their former preferments and places all ſuch as had been baniſhed, or had voluntarily fled the kingdom upon the account of their ſtrict adherence and ſubmiſſion to the Pope of Rome.

Nor was this all, for the next year King John with A. D. 1215.
two of his nobility, the Earls of Cheſter and Derby, was reſolved upon a voyage to the Holy Land, but was unfortunately prevented of his journey, by the rebellion of his barons, which now broke forth violently by reaſon that the king would not grant them ſome antient laws and privileges, ſuch as their foreſathers always enjoyed. Therefore the barons entered into a confederacy with Prince Lhewelyn of North Wales, deſiring him to make what diverſion he could on his part, which they were reſolved to do on theirs; and ſo having raiſed an army, they appointed Robert Fitzwalter their general. Coming to Bedford

Bedford, they were honourably received into the caſtle by William Beauchamp, and from thence marching to London, they were entertained with all the expreſſions and tokens of joy. King John perceiving how powerful they were like to prove, and how that the country did in a great meaſure favour their cauſe, thought it his wiſeſt way to nip them in the bud, and to fall upon them before they grew too ſtrong; and therefore having levied his forces, he marched together with William Marſhal Earl of Pembroke, towards the caſtle of Rocheſter. Being arrived there, he laid cloſe ſiege to the caſtle, but the governor William de Abbineto ſo bravely defended it, that it could hardly be taken after three months ſiege, but at length the king's men bore on ſo violently, that they took it by ſtorm, where beſides William de Abbineto, the king took ſeveral of the barons priſoners. This was an ill beginning to the deſign of the confederates, and what did not add a little to their misfortune, the Pope preſently iſſues out his Bull of Excommunication againſt Lhewelyn Prince of Wales, and all the Engliſh barons as made war againſt King John, who was under the protection of the Church of Rome. But Prince Lhewelyn did not regard his threatening anathemas, and therefore having raiſed an army, he came to Shrewſbury, which was delivered up to him without any reſiſtance. And whilſt Lhewelyn remained there, Giles de Bruce biſhop of Hereford, one of the chief of this conſpiracy, ſent his brother Reynold to Brecknock, whom all the people readily owned for their lord; and ſo without the leaſt grumbling or oppoſition he received the caſtles of Abergefenny and Pencelhy, the Caſtelh Gwyn, or the White Caſtle, together with Groſmont caſtle and the iſland of Cynuric. But when the biſhop came thither in perſon, he had the caſtles of Aberhondhy, Hay, Buelht, and Blaenlhyfny, delivered up to him; but thinking he had enough himſelf, and being rather deſirous to ſecure his intereſt, and to ſtrengthen his party in the country, then to heap more upon his own ſhoulders than he was well able to ſupport, he beſtowed

beſtowed Payn caſtle, Clune and all Eluel upon Walter Fychan, the ſon of Eineon Clyd.

In the mean time, young Rhys the ſon of Gruffydh ap Rhys, and his uncle Maelgon were reconciled and made friends, and ſo coming both to Dyfed, they deſtroyed Arberth and Maenclochoc caſtles, and recovered all ſuch lands as formerly belonged to them, excepting Cemais. But Rhys's brothers Maelgon and Owen went to North Wales, and did homage and fealty to Prince Lhewelyn, whilſt their brother Prince Rhys marched forward to Cydwely, and having raſed the caſtles of Carnwylheon and Lhychwr, brought all the country about under his ſubjection. But this was not enough to ſatisfy the ambitious humour of that young prince, for having once taſted the pleaſure of victory, and the taking and demoliſhing of towns, he was reſolved to proſecute his conqueſt whilſt Fortune ſeemed to favour his undertakings; and therefore he led his army againſt Talybont caſtle, which belonged to Hugh de Miles, and forcing his entrance into the ſame, he put a great number of the garriſon to the ſword. The next day he marched to Sengennyth caſtle, but the garriſon which kept it, thinking it fruitleſs and to no purpoſe to oppoſe him, burnt the place and departed to Yſtymlhwynarth. But he followed them at the heels, and the next day took it, and raſed it to the ground, and over-ran the country in ſuch a violent manner, that in three days time, he became maſter of all the caſtles and fortreſſes in all Gowerland and Morgannwc, and ſo returned home with great victory and triumph. At the ſame time Rhys Fychan, otherwiſe Rhys Gryg, young Prince Rhys's uncle obtained his liberty from the king of England, leaving his ſon with two more for pledges for his modeſt and peaceable behaviour towards his ſubjects, whom at other times he was wont to moleſt and oppreſs. About this time the abbots of Tal y Llecheu and Tuy Gwyn, were conſecrated biſhops, the former of St. David's, and the other of Bangor. But the biſhop of Hereford who ſeemed to be the moſt violently inclined againſt

againſt King John, and was otherwiſe unwilling to part with what he had got in Wales, could not for all that refuſe the injunction of the Pope, by whoſe expreſs command he was conſtrained to make peace with the king, which being concluded, in his return homeward, he died at Gloceſter, leaving his eſtate to his brother Reginald, who had married the daughter of Prince Lhewelyn.

But for all that, Giles de Bruce biſhop of Hereford was fallen off, and reconciled to King John, yet Prince Lhewelyn did not think it convenient to follow his example, and therefore with his whole army he marched againſt Carmardhyn, and took the caſtle in five days, having raſed it to the ground, he ſucceſſively laid ſiege to the caſtles of Lhanſtephan, St. Cleare, and Talacharn, which he uſed after the ſame manner. From thence he went to Cardigan, and winning Emlyn caſtle, he ſubdued Cemaes, and then laying ſiege to Trefdaeth caſtle, in Engliſh called Newport, he quickly took it, and afterwards raſed it to the ground. His next deſign was upon Aberteifi and Cilgerran caſtles, but the garriſons which defended them, finding it to no purpoſe to wait his coming, and ſo to withſtand all his attempts againſt thoſe places voluntarily ſurrendered, and by that means prevented all the miſchief, which in oppoſing him, would in all probability unavoidably attend them. And ſo Prince Lhewelyn having ſucceſsfully over-run and ſubdued all Carmardhyn and Cardigan, triumphantly returned to North Wales, being attended by ſeveral of the Welch nobility, ſuch as Howel ap Gruffydh ap Conan, Lhewelyn ap Meredith, Gwenwynwyn Lord of Powis, Meredith ap Rotpert, Maelgon and Rhys Fychan the ſons of Prince Rhys of South Wales, Rhys and Owen the ſons of Gruffydh ap Rhys, together with all the power of Madoc ap Gruffydh Maylor Lord of Bromfield.

A. D. 1216. But the next year Prince Lhewelyn returned to Aberteifi to compoſe a difference, which ſince his departure, had happened betwixt Maelgon and Rhys Fychan, Prince Rhys's ſons on the one ſide, and Rhys and Owen, Gruffydh ap Rhys's ſons on the other. There-

Therefore to make up this quarrel, and to reduce all matters to a quiet and amicable iſſue, Prince Lhewelyn made an equal diſtribution of South Wales betwixt them, alloting to Maelgon, three Cantrefs in Dyfed, viz. Gwarthaf, Penlhwynoc, Cemaes, and Emlyn with Cilgerran caſtle; to young Rhys, two caſtles in Yſtratywy, Hiruryn and Maelhaen, Maenor Bydfey, with the caſtle of Lhanymdhyfry, and two in Cardigan Gwynionyth and Mahwyneon. His brother Owen had to his ſhare the caſtles of Aberteifi and Nant yr Arian, with three Cantrefs in Cardigan; and Rhys Fychan, otherwiſe called Rhys Gryc, had Dynefawr caſtle, the Cantref Mawr, the Cantref Bychan, excepting Hiruryn and Midhfey, together with the Comotes of Cydwely and Carnwylhion. This diviſion being accompliſhed to every one's ſatisfaction, and all the lords of South Wales being amicably reconciled, Prince Lhewelyn took his journey for North Wales; but he had not advanced very far, when news was brought him that Gwenwynwyn lord of Powis was revolted, and was become again the king of England's ſubject. This unwelcome news ſtruck very deep in the prince's mind, by reaſon that Gwenwynwyn was a man of great power and ſtrength in the country, and went a great way to repel the incurſions of the Engliſh upon the marches, which now he being gone off, could not, he feared, be ſo well effected. But however, to make the beſt of a bad market, he endeavoured to take him off from the Engliſh, and to reſtore him to his former allegiance due to himſelf as his natural prince; and to that end, he ſent to him ſome biſhops and abbots to put him in mind of his oath and promiſe, how that he with the reſt of the lords of Wales, had obliged himſelf to oppoſe the Engliſh to the utmoſt of his power, and had delivered pledges for the ſure performance of what he had then by oath engaged in; and leſt he ſhould have forgot what he had then promiſed, he was deſired to read his own hand writing, whereby it was apparent that he had very unjuſtly violated both his oath and promiſe. But all the rhetorick the biſhops could make uſe of, was not

of force enough to work Gwenwynwyn to a reconciliation with the Prince, and an averſion to the king of England; and therefore ſeeing nothing would do, Prince Lhewelyn was reſolved to make him incapable of ſerving the Engliſh, and ſo entering Powis with a ſtrong army, he ſubdued the whole country to himſelf, Gwenwynwyn being forced to fly for ſuccour to the Earl of Cheſter.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in Wales, Lewis the Dauphin of France being invited by the Engliſh barons againſt King John, landed in the iſland of Thanet, and marching forward to London, he there received homage of all the barons, that were in actual war againſt the king. And then ſetting forward to Wincheſter, where King John then lay, he took in his way the caſtles of Rygat, Guildford and Farnham, and coming to Wincheſter, had the town preſently ſurrendered to him. King John did not think fit to abide his coming, but removing to Hereford, in the marches of Wales, he ſent to Prince Lhewelyn and Reynald Bruce, deſiring their friendſhip, and imploring their aid and aſſiſtance againſt the French. But they refuſing to hearken to his propoſals, he deſtroyed Radnor and Hay caſtles, and marching forward to Oſweſtry, which belonged to John Fitzalan, he burnt it to the ground, and then departed towards the North. But after that he had ſettled his affairs there, and appointed governors in all the towns and places of ſtrength; whilſt he was making all neceſſary preparations at Newark to confront the barons, he fell ſick, and in a ſhort time died, and was buried at Worceſter.

After his death his ſon Henry was by ſeveral of the Engliſh nobility proclaimed king, and in a little while, moſt of the barons, who upon their hatred to King John, had maintained an open war againſt him, came in, and owned their allegiance to his ſon Henry, though contrary to their oath to Lewis the Dauphin.

A. D. 1217. But what was moſt pernicious to the Welch, Reynald de Bruce who had all this while maintained a confederacy with Prince Lhewelyn his father-in-law againſt King

King John, underhand made his peace with King Henry. But he ſuffered ſeverely for his treachery; for young Rhys, and Owen his nephew by his ſiſter, ſeeing that he in whom they put their greateſt confidence, had deceitfully forſaken them, came upon him with all their power, and took from him all Buelht, excepting only the caſtle. Prince Lhewelyn was preſently made acquainted with Bruce's revolt, but as ſoon as he was informed that his ſon-in-law was gone over to the king of England, he went in great fury to Brecknoc, and laying ſiege to the town of Aberhondhy, he was with much ado prevailed upon by young Rhys to raiſe the ſiege for the ſum of a hundred marks; and then croſſing the mountainous part of Glamorgan, called the Black Mountains, where his carriages ſuffered very much, he came to Gwyr, and encamping at Lhangruc, Reynald Bruce with ſix knights in his company, came to meet him, deſiring his pardon for his paſt offence, aſſuring him that for the future, he would be true and faithful to him, and would do his endeavour to aſſiſt him againſt the King of England. Prince Lhewelyn was too good natured to reject his ſubmiſſion, and ſo did not only receive him to his favour, but beſtowed upon him alſo the caſtle of Senghennyth, which Reynald committed to the cuſtody of Rhys Fychan.

Prince Lhewelyn having ſettled all things in good order in Gwyr, marched to Dyfed and being at Cefn Cynwarchon, the Flemings ſent their agents to him to deſire peace, which the Prince, by reaſon that they always adhered to the Engliſh intereſt, would not grant them. And ſo young Rhys, being the firſt man, paſſed the river Cledeu to ſtorm the town, Iorwerth biſhop of St. David's, with the reſt of his clergy came to the prince to intreat for a peace for the Flemings, which after a long debate, was granted, and concluded upon theſe terms; firſt, That all the inhabitants of Rhos, and the country of Pembroke ſhould from thence forward ſwear allegiance to Prince Lhewelyn, and ever after acknowledge his ſovereignty; ſecondly, That towards the defraying of

charges in this expedition, they ſhould pay one thouſand marks to be delivered to him before the enſuing feaſt of St. Michael; thirdly, That for the ſure performance of theſe articles they ſhould deliver up twenty hoſtages, who were to be ſome of the moſt principal perſons in their country. Then Prince Llewelyn having now brought all Wales ſubject to himſelf, and put matters in a ſettled poſture in South Wales, returned to North Wales, having purchaſed very conſiderable honour and eſteem for his martial atchievements in this expedition.

And now all matters of differences being adjuſted, and the Welch in good hopes of a durable freedom from all troubles and hoſtilities; another accident unhappily fell out to croſs their expectation. Lewis the Dauphin perceiving the Engliſh barons to ſlight and forſake him, concluded a peace with King Henry, and returned to France; and then the barons, the king promiſing to anſwer all their requeſts, and to redreſs their grievances, made their ſubmiſſion, without including the Welch in their articles. They had all this while gladly embraced the friendſhip and aid of the Prince of Wales; but now upon their reconciliation to the king, thinking they had no farther need of him, they very baſely forſook him, who had been the principal ſupport and ſuccour of their cauſe. And not only ſo, but they conſpired together to convert their arms againſt Wales, thinking they could without any breach of equity or conſcience, take away the lands of the Welch, to make addition to what ſome of them had already unjuſtly poſſeſſed themſelves of. William Marſhal Earl of Pembroke opened the ſcene, and coming unexpectedly upon the Welch, took the town of Caerlheon. But he got nothing by this, for Rhys Fychan perceiving what he would fain be at, raſed Senghennyth caſtle, and all the reſt in his cuſtody in that country, and baniſhing the Engliſh with their wives and children, divided the country betwixt the
A. D. 1218. Welch, who kept ſure poſſeſſion of it. Prince Llewelyn alſo finding thoſe to become his foes, who had but

but lately courted his friendſhip, and fearing leſt that the Engliſh being now in arms ſhould make any attempt upon his caſtles, augmented the garriſons of Carmardhyn and Aberteifi, to make them capable of withſtanding the Engliſh, in caſe they ſhould come againſt them. But though the Welch and Engliſh were at open variance and in actual hoſtility one againſt another, yet young Rhys with Prince Lhewelyn's approbation and conſent, thought it adviſeable to go and do homage to the king of England, for his lands in Wales. This might be thought a matter of ſupererogation, to make courtſhip to one who was declared enemy to all the Welch, and one that would not in all probability, ſuffer him to enjoy a quiet poſſeſſion of his eſtate, in caſe he had ability and opportunity to eject him. But the Welch intereſt was in a great meaſure augmented by a new alliance with ſome of the moſt powerful among the Engliſh; Rhys Gryc, Prince Rhys's ſon, being married to the Earl of Clare's daughter; and Marret, Prince Lhewelyn's daughter, to John Bruce. A. D. 1219.

The Prince of Wales had quickly an occaſion to experience his power, for the Flemings in Dyfed, who had lately ſworn allegiance to him, began now to repent of what they had but a little time ago gladly ſubmitted to, and contrary to their oaths, and the league they had ſworn to obſerve, they fell upon Aberteifi caſtle, which they took. Prince Lhewelyn being highly diſpleaſed with the treacherous practices of theſe perjured Flemings, marched with all ſpeed to Aberteifi, and having recovered the caſtle, which he afterwards raſed, he put all the garriſon to the ſword. Gwys was ſerved in the ſame manner, and the town of Haverford was burnt to the ground, and overrunning Rhos and Daugledhau, he committed a lamentable deſtruction throughout the whole country. This the Flemings received as the due reward of their ſiniſtrous dealing, which made them quickly apprehenſive of their folly, and their imprudeut behaviour towards the Prince of Wales; and therefore 1220.

being ſorrowfully ſenſible how unable they were to put a ſtop to his farther progreſs by force of arms, they made overtures for ceſſation of all hoſtilities till the May following, which being granted them upon ſtrict conditions, Prince Lhewelyn returned to North Wales. In the mean time ſome Welch lords beſieged Buelht caſtle, which was in the poſſeſſion of Reynald Bruce, but before they could take it, King Henry brought an army to the marches and raiſed the ſiege, and then marching forward to Montgomery, built a new caſtle in that town.

A.D. 1221. The next year an unhappy diſſention fell out betwixt Prince Lhewelyn and his ſon Gruffydh this latter having kept himſelf in poſſeſſion of the Cantref of Merionyth, contrary to the conſent and well-liking of his father. The Prince therefore having now no great matter of moment abroad, was reſolved to curb the inſolency of his ſon, and therefore ſent to him to command his appearance, and to wiſh him to deliver up the Cantref quietly, leſt he ſhould be forced to take it violently out of his hands. Gruffydh was not in the leaſt diſmayed at his threatenings, but being reſolved to keep what at preſent he enjoyed, would neither go to his father, nor deliver up the Cantref to him. The Prince being enraged that he ſhould be ſo ſlighted by his ſon, made a vehement proteſtation, that he would be ſeverely revenged both of him and all his accomplices; and therefore coming to Merionyth with a great army, was reſolved to drive his ſon out of the country. But Gruffydh made all poſſible preparations to oppoſe his father, and drew up his forces to give him battle, but when both armies were ready to join, the differences betwixt them was happily compoſed, and Gruffydh prevailed upon to make his ſubmiſſion to his father. But the Prince, though he forgave his ſon his offence, and received him to favour, would not however, permit him to enjoy Merionyth and Ardydwy; but taking them away from him, and building a caſtle in the latter, returned home. But he had not continued long at his palace at Aberffraw, when another occaſion

occaſion called him abroad; for young Rhys being diſappointed of Aberteifi, which in the diviſion of South Wales was allotted to his ſhare, forſook the prince, and put himſelf under the protection of William Marſhal Earl of Pembroke. Prince Lhewelyn hearing this, marched in great haſte to Aberyſtwyth, and being deſirous to puniſh Rhys for his deſertion from his allegiance due to him, ſeized to his own uſe that caſtle, together with all the domain and lands belonging to it. When Rhys underſtood what the prince had done, he preſently made his complaint to the king of England, who coming to Shrewſbury, and ſending for Prince Lhewelyn, adjuſted matters ſo betwixt them, that the Prince promiſed to treat with Rhys for Aberteifi, after the ſame manner as he had done with Maelgon for Caermardhyn. And towards the cloſe of the year, John Bruce, Prince Lhewelyn's ſon-in-law, obtained leave to fortify Senghennyth caſtle, which in right to the prince's grant to Reynald Bruce, belonged to him. But young Rhys did not long ſurvive the agreement betwixt him and Prince Lhewelyn; for he died the following year, and was buried at Yſtratflur; after whoſe death, the prince divided his eſtate betwixt his brother Owen and his uncle Maelgon.

William Marſhal Earl of Pembroke was now in A.D. 1222. Ireland, and very buſy in proſecuting the war againſt the king of England's enemies in that kingdom; the opportunity of whoſe abſence Prince Lhewelyn taking advantage of, won the caſtles of Aberteifi and Caermardhyn, belonging to the Earl; and putting both the garriſons to the ſword, placed in their room a ſtrong party of his own men. But when the Earl was informed of what the Prince of Wales had done, he preſently left Ireland, and landed at St. David's with a great army, and having recovered his caſtles, he treated the Welch after the ſame manner, as Prince Lhewelyn had uſed his garriſons, and paſſing forward into the prince's country, deſtroyed all before him as he went along. The Prince underſtanding how violently he came forward, ſent his ſon Gruffydh with a

conſiderable body of men to check his fury; who coming to Cydwely, and receiving intelligence that the magiſtrates of that place, had a private deſign to betray him to the enemy, he put the whole town in flames, and burnt it to the ground, without ſparing either churches, or other religious houſes. The Earl of Pembroke had paſſed the river Tywy at Caermardhyn, where Gruffydh met him, and gave him battle; but the victory proved ſo uncertain, that the night was forced to part them; and ſo the Engliſh retired over the river. Matthew Paris writes, that the Earl obtained a very ſignal victory, and that of the Welch there were nine thouſand ſlain and taken; though the Welch account, which in this caſe is in all likelihood the beſt, makes the whole army of the Welch to conſiſt but of that number. But both armies having lain for certain days in that poſture, and the river Tywy being betwixt them; Gruffydh, by reaſon that proviſion began to grow ſcarce in his camp, returned back; and then the Earl decamped, and marched to Cilgerran, where he began to build a very ſtrong caſtle. But before he could have time to finiſh it, he received an expreſs from the king, with orders to come to him; and ſo he went by ſea to London, leaving his army at Cilgerran, to continue the work which he had begun. Shortly after, the king, together with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, came to Ludlow, and ſending for Prince Lhewelyn thither, they had good hopes to adjuſt all differences, and to make an amicable compoſition betwixt him and the Earl. But when this could not be effected, both parties ſticking cloſe to their private intereſt; the Earl being aſſiſted by the Earl of Derby and Henry Pyggot Lord of Ewyas, deſigned to paſs by land to Pembroke; but his purpoſe being diſcovered to the prince, he detached his ſon to ſecure the paſſage of Carnwylhion, and came in perſon to Mahedryd; which when the Earl underſtood, finding it dangerous to proſecute his deſign any further, he returned to England; and then the prince marched to North Wales. The next ac-

tion that paſſed in Wales, was ſomewhat rare, and not redounding much to the credit and eſteem of the Welch; for Rhys Fychan, having by ſome ſiniſtrous means or other, taken his father Rhys Gryc, contrary to all filial affection and duty, detained him priſoner, and would not ſet him at liberty, till he had delivered up Lhanymdhyfri caſtle to him. About the ſame time, Meredith Archdeacon of Cardigan, Prince Rhys's ſon, departed this life, and was honourably interred at St. David's, by his father. A. D. 1227.

But a while after, a great ſtorm threatened the Welch; King Henry having raiſed a great army, was reſolved to make a violent proſecution of the Earl of Pembroke's quarrel againſt the Prince of Wales, and if poſſible, to make all that country, for ever ſubject to the crown of England; and ſo being advanced into the marches, he encamped at Ceri. Prince Lhewelyn on the other hand, being informed of theſe mighty preparations in England, and underſtanding that they were intended againſt him, did uſe all the endeavours poſſible, to make a vigorous reſiſtance; and having drawn together all the forces he was able to levy, thought it his wiſeſt way to meet the Engliſh upon the marches, and not to permit the enemy to enter his country. Both armies being come in ſight of each other, frequent ſkirmiſhes happened betwixt them; but one day, almoſt the whole armies engaged, and after a vigorous attack of both ſides, the Engliſh at laſt got the worſt, and were forced to retire, having a great number of men ſlain and taken priſoners. Among the latter, was William Bruce, Reynald's ſon, who offered for his ranſom all Buelht, together with a conſiderable ſum of money, which the prince would not accept of. But King Henry finding that his army was worſted in this rencounter, thought it beſt to make peace with the prince of Wales, which being concluded, Lhewelyn came to the king, and having paid him all other reſpects, beſides that of ſubmiſſion and allegiance, he returned in great honour to North Wales. But this action is ſomewhat otherwiſe 1228.

wiſe laid down by Matthew Paris, who writes, that this ſkirmiſh betwixt the Engliſh and Welch happened upon another account; for the garriſon of Montgomery iſſuing out of the caſtle, to enlarge a certain paſſage leading through a wood, where the Welch were wont to rob and kill all paſſengers; began to fell the timber, and cut down all the buſhes which leſſened the road, thereby to make the paſſage more clear and ſecure. The Welch receiving intelligence of this, came preſently upon him in great numbers, and ſurpriſing the enemies, being buſy at their labour, forced as many as could eſcape, to betake themſelves for refuge into the caſtle, which afterwards, having firſt caſt a deep trench about it, they ſmartly inveſted. Hubert de Burgh, Lord Chief Juſtice of England, and owner of the caſtle, having notice of this, ſent preſently to King Henry, deſiring his ſpeedy help againſt the Welch, who thereupon came in perſon with part of his army, and raiſed the ſiege. Then, the reſt of his forces being arrived, he marched into the wood, which was five miles in length, and by reaſon of the thickneſs of the growth, impaſſable; and for an eaſy paſſage through it, cauſed it to be burnt down. After that, he led his army farther into the country, and coming to an abbey called Cridia, which the Welch were wont to take for refuge, he cauſed it to be burnt down; but finding it a very convenient place for a fortreſs, he granted leave to Hubert de Burgh to build a caſtle there. But whilſt the work was going on, the Welchmen gauled the Engliſh, and ſkirmiſhed with them frequently, ſo that many were ſlain on both ſides; but at laſt William de Bruce with many others that went abroad to fetch proviſion, was intercepted by the Welch, and taken priſoner, and moſt of his company were ſlain, among whom, one who was knighted a few days before, ſeeing ſome of his fellows in great danger, ruſhed boldly into the midſt of his enemies, and after a manful defence, bravely loſt his life. Several of King Henry's men were corrupted by Prince Lhewelyn, and upon that account took no great pains to repulſe the enemy; which

which when the king perceived, and finding withal that proviſion was grown very ſcarce in his camp, he was forced to conclude a diſhonourable peace with the Welch, conſenting to demoliſh that caſtle, which with ſo great an expence both of men and money was now almoſt finiſhed, upon his own charges, Prince Lhewelyn paying only three thouſand pounds towards it. Then both armies ſeparated, Prince Lhewelyn marching to North Wales, and the king leaving William Bruce priſoner with the Welch, returned to England, having purchaſed no ſmall diſcredit in this expedition.

William Bruce was brought to Wales, and there had an honourable confinement in the prince's palace; but he had not continued there very long, when he began to be ſuſpected of being too familiar with the princeſs, King Henry's ſiſter; and as the report went, was taken in the very act of adultery; for which the prince cauſed him to be hanged forthwith. About the ſame time, Lhewelyn, Maelgon's ſon died in North Wales, and was buried at Conwey: and Maelgon, Prince Rhys's ſon in South Wales, and was buried at Yſtratflur; whoſe eſtate deſcended to his ſon Maelgon. And a little after, William Marſhal Earl of Pembroke died, one that ever entertained an inveterate enmity to the Welch, and upon whoſe account King Henry had chiefly brought his army into Wales. He was ſucceeded both in his title and eſtate by his brother Richard, who was much more favourably inclined towards the Welch, and never attempted any thing againſt them. But the king of England was reſolved to retrieve the honour he had loſt in the late expedition againſt the Welch; and therefore being returned from France, whither he had made a deſcent, to recover what his father had loſt in that kingdom, he came to Wales; and having remained ſome time in the marches, he returned again to England, leaving his army under the command of Hubert Burgh Earl of Kent, to defend the marches againſt any in-road which the Welch might attempt. And he had not remained there long when he received intelligence, that

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that a party of Welch had entered the marches near Montgomery, whom he forthwith purſued, and ſetting upon them ſurpriſedly, he put a great number of them to the ſword. Prince Lhewelyn hearing this, came in perſon with a great army to the marches, and ſitting before Montgomery caſtle, he forced Hubert to withdraw, and then making himſelf maſter of the place, he burnt it to the ground, and put the garriſon to the ſword; the like fate attended the caſtles of Radnor, Aberhondhy, Rhayadr Gwy, Caerlheon, Neth, and Cydwely; though Caerlheon held out very ſtubbornly, and the prince had ſeveral of his men deſtroyed before the place. King Henry being informed of what miſerable deſolation the Prince of Wales ſo ſucceſsfully committed upon his ſubjects in theſe countries, had him preſently excommunicated; and then coming to Hereford with a mighty army, he detached the greateſt part of it, with a great number of his nobility to Wales. Theſe by the direction of a friar of Cymer, unexpectedly as they thought, fell upon a party of Welch; who at the firſt encounter ſeemed to fly, till they had allured the Engliſh to purſue them to a place where a greater party of Welch lay in ambuſcade; who ruſhing of a ſudden upon the Engliſh, put them in ſuch a confuſion, that the greateſt part of them was cut off. The king being ſenſible, that this was a treacherous inſinuation of the friar, was reſolved to be revenged, by burning the abbey of Cymer; but the prior, for three hundred marks, prevented it; and ſo the king returned to England, having effected nothing in this expedition, beſides the building of Mawd caſtle. In the mean time, Maelgon, ſon of Maelgon ap Rhys, laid ſiege to Aberteifi, and having by force got entry into the town, he put all the inhabitants to the ſword, then deſtroyed all before him to the caſtle gates, which were ſo ſtrongly fortified, that it ſeemed almoſt impracticable to take it in any ſhort time. But Maelgon, being joined by his couſin Owen, Gruffydh ap Rhys's ſon, was reſolved to try the utmoſt that could be effected; and therefore taking with him ſome of Prince Lhewelyn's moſt experienced officers, he

he broke down the bridge upon the river Teifi, and then inveſting the caſtle more cloſely, he ſo battered and undermined it, that he became in a little time maſter of it.

The year following, Prince Lhewelyn made a de- A. D. 1232.
ſcent upon England, and having committed very conſiderable waſte and deſtruction upon the borders, he returned to North Wales with a rich booty both of men and cattle. King Henry, to correct the Welch for theſe grievous devaſtations, and to prevent their further incurſions into England, demanded a very great ſubſidy of his ſubjects to carry on the war againſt the Welch; which being granted him, he made all poſſible preparations for his expedition to Wales. In the mean time, Randulph Earl of Cheſter died, and was ſucceeded in that honour by John his ſiſter's ſon, who was afterwards married to Prince Lhewelyn's daughter. But the Engliſh in Wales being in expectation of King Henry's coming thither, began to repair and fortify their caſtles; and particularly, Ri- 1233.
chard Earl of Cornwal rebuilt Radnor caſtle, which the prince had lately deſtroyed. Prince Lhewelyn was ſufficiently ſenſible, that the king of England intended an invaſion, and therefore to be before hand with him, he came with an army to Brecknock, deſtroyed all the towns and caſtles throughout the country, excepting Brecknock caſtle, which held out ſo manfully, that after a month's ſitting before it, he was at laſt conſtrained to raiſe the ſiege. In his return to North Wales, he burnt the town of Clun, recovered all that country called Dyffryn Tefeidiat, in the poſſeſſion of John Fitzalan, deſtroyed Red caſtle in Powis, and burnt Oſweſtry. But what happened very fortunately to the Welch, Richard Marſhal Earl of Pembroke being fallen at variance with King Henry, took part with Prince Lhewelyn; with whom joined Hubert de Burgh, who had lately made his eſcape out of the caſtle of Devizes, where the king, upon ſome articles of information brought againſt him, had committed him to priſon. But the Earl of Pembroke, attended by Owen ap Gruffydh ap Rhys, came to St. David's;

and

and being very glad of an opportunity to revenge himſelf upon the king, ſlew every one that owned any dependance upon the crown of England. Maelgon and Rhys Gryc, with all the forces of Prince Lhewelyn, quickly joined the Earl; who in their march through the country, took the caſtles of Cardyff, Abergevenny, Pencelhy, Blaenlhefyni, and Bwlch y Ddinas, which all, excepting Cardyff, they burnt to the ground. The king receiving intelligence, that the Earl of Pembroke had entered into a confederacy with the Prince of Wales, and that he was now in open hoſtility againſt his ſubjects in that country, gathered a very formidable army, conſiſting, beſides Engliſh, of Flemings, Normans, and Gaſcoigns; and coming to Wales, he encamped at Groſmont, where the Earl, with the Welch army met him. But when the Engliſh would have endeavoured to advance further into the country, the Welch oppoſed them, and ſo a battle enſued, wherein the Engliſh loſt five hundred horſe, beſides a far greater number of their infantry. The Welch having gained a conſiderable victory in this action, the king was adviſed to withdraw his forces, for fear leſt that the Welch ſhould again ſet upon them, and ſo ſuſtain a greater loſs, which counſel the king willingly hearkened unto, and ſo he returned for England. The Engliſh being withdrawn, the Earl likewiſe decamped, and marched to Caermardhyn, which he beſieged; but after three months vain aſſault, the garriſon moſt bravely defending the place; and the Engliſh fleet, having thrown in new proviſions, he thought it moſt adviſeable to raiſe the ſiege. Shortly after, Rhys Gryc, ſon to Prince Rhys died at Lhandeilo Fawr, and was honourably interred by his father at St. David's. About the ſame time, Maelgon Fychan, Maelgon ap Rhys's ſon, finiſhed Trefilean caſtle, which was begun in his father's time.

A.D. 1234. King Henry was not willing to hazard any more campaigns in Wales, and therefore he appointed John of Monmouth, a great ſoldier and general of the Engliſh forces, warden of the marches of Wales; who thinking

thinking to get to himſelf an eternal name in conquering the Welch, raiſed all the power he could; and imagining that the Welch could not be privy to his purpoſe, he apprehended he could fall upon the Earl Marſhal unexpected. But in this, he was to his ſorrow moſt widely miſtaken; for the Earl having received private intimation of his deſign, hid himſelf in a certain wood, by which the Engliſh were to march; and when they were come ſo far, the Welch of a ſudden gave a great ſhout, and leaping out of the place they had abſconded themſelves in, they fell upon the Engliſh, being unprovided; and putting their whole army to flight, they ſlew an infinite number both of the Engliſh and their auxiliaries. John of Monmouth himſelf made his eſcape by flight; but the Earl Marſhal entering his country, deſtroyed it with fire and ſword. And what added to the miſery of the Engliſh, Prince Lhewelyn in the week after Epiphany, joining the Earl Marſhal, made an incurſion into the king's territories, deſtroying all before them, from the confines of Wales to Shrewſbury; a great part of which they laid in aſhes. King Henry was all this while with the biſhop of Wincheſter at Gloceſter, and for want of ſufficient power or courage to confront the enemy, durſt not take the field; of which being at length perfectly aſhamed, he removed to Wincheſter, leaving the marches naked to the mercy of the enemy. And now, there being no apprehenſion of fear from the Engliſh, the Earl of Pembroke, by the counſel of Geoffrey de Mariſco, tranſported his army into Ireland, thinking to obtain a conqueſt in that kingdom; but in the firſt encounter with the Iriſh, he was unfortunately ſlain through the treachery of his own men: and ſo his eſtate and title deſcended to his brother Gilbert.

But King Henry finding it impracticable to force the Welch to a ſubmiſſion, and being in a great meaſure weary of continual wars and inceſſant hoſtilities, thought it his beſt prudence to make ſome honourable agreement with the Prince of Wales; and therefore he deputed Edmund Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the

biſhops

biſhops of Rocheſter, Coventry, Litchfield and Cheſter, to treat with Prince Lhewelyn about a peace. When the king came to meet with them in their return from this negociation, being at Woodſtock, he was certified of the death of the Earl of Pembroke, which he took ſo much to heart, that he preſently melted into tears, being afflicted for the death of ſo great a perſon, whom he openly declared had not left his ſecond in all his kingdom. Going from thence to Gloceſter, he met with the archbiſhop and biſhops, who delivered to him the * form of the treaty of peace with Prince Lhewelyn, which he would not conclude, unleſs upon this condition; That all the Engliſh nobility who were confederated with him, and by evil counſel were exiled, ſhould be recalled, and reſtored to the king's favour. The Archbiſhop further acquainted his Majeſty with what difficulty he had brought the matter to this concluſion, being ſometimes forced to add threatenings on the king's behalf, with his clergy; to which menaces the prince is ſaid to have anſwered, That he bore more regard to the king's charity and piety, than he did fear his arms, or dread his clergy. But the king, who was very deſirous of a peace, readily conſented to what the prince required; and therefore he iſſued out his letters, recalling all the nobles who were outlawed, or otherwiſe exiled, requiring them to appear at Gloceſter, upon Sunday next before Aſcenſion-day, where they ſhould receive their pardons, and be reſtored to their eſtates, which the king had taken into his own hands.

* See the Appendix.

The peace being thus concluded betwixt the Engliſh and Welch, Prince Lhewelyn ſet his ſon Gruffydh at liberty, whom for his diſobedient and reſtleſs humour he had detained in cloſe priſon for the ſpace of ſix years. About the ſame time, Cadwalhon ap Maelgon of Melienydh, departed this life, who was quickly followed by Owen, Gruffydh ap Rhys's ſon, a perſon of great worth, and exceedingly beloved, and was buried at Yſtratflur, by his brother Rhys. And the year following died Owen ap Meredith ap Rotpert

A. D. 1235.

of

of Cydewen; and not long after him, Madawc the A. D. 1236.
ſon of Gruffydh Mayelor, Lord of Bromfield, Chirk, and Yale, who was buried at the abbey of Lhan Egweſt, of Vale Crucis, which he had built; leaving iſſue behind him one ſon, called Gruffydh, who ſucceeded into the poſſeſſion of all theſe lordſhips. A little after, Gilbert Earl of Pembroke, got by treachery Marchen caſtle, which belonged to Morgan ap Howel, and fortified the ſame very ſtrongly, for fear of Prince Lhewelyn. The next ſpring Joan, King John's daughter, and Princeſs of Wales, departed this life, and was buried, according to her own deſire, upon the ſeaſhore, at a place called Lhanfaes; in the iſle of Angleſey; where the Prince, in memory of her, afterwards founded a religious houſe, for the order of mendicant friars. About the ſame time alſo died John Scot, Earl of Cheſter, without any iſſue, upon which account the king ſeized that earldom into his own hands. Hugh Lupus was the firſt that enjoyed this honour, who coming over to England with the Conqueror, was by him created Earl of Cheſter, and ſword-bearer of England; *Habendum & tenendum dictum comitatum Ceſtriæ, ſibi & hæredibus ſuis, ita libere ad gladium, ſicut ipſe rex totam tenebat Angliam ad coronam*: To have and to hold the ſaid county of Cheſter, to him and his heirs by right of the ſword, ſo freely and ſecurely as the king held the realm of England in the right of the crown. After five deſcents, Randulph Bohun came to be Earl of Cheſter, who was uncle to this John, the laſt Earl. This Randulph had ſeveral encounters with Prince Lhewelyn, and was in continual agitation againſt him; but once more particularly, meeting with the Prince, and being ſenſible of his inability to withſtand him, he was obliged to retire for refuge to the caſtle of Ruthlan, which the prince preſently beſieged. Randulph perceiving himſelf to be in danger, ſent to Roger Lacy, conſtable of Cheſter, requeſting him to raiſe what ſtrength he could poſſible, and come to ſuccour him in this extremity. Wherefore Lacy having received this expreſs, called to him preſently all his friends, deſiring them to make

1237.

all the endeavours imaginable to reſcue the Earl from that imminent danger which ſo ſeverely threatened him: at whoſe requeſt, Ralph Dutton, his ſon-in-law, a valourous youth, aſſembled together all the players and muſicians, and ſuch as then, being fair-time, had met to make merry; and preſenting them to the conſtable, he forthwith marched to Ruthlan, raiſed the ſiege, and delivered the Earl from all his fear. In recompence of this ſervice, the Earl granted the conſtable ſeveral freedoms and privileges; and to Dutton the ruling and ordering all players and muſicians within the ſaid country, to be enjoyed by his heirs for ever.

A. D. 1238. In the year 1238, Prince Lhewelyn being diſcompoſed in body, called unto him all the lords and barons of Wales to Yſtratflur, where each of them ſwore to remain true and faithful ſubjects, and did homage to David, Lhewelyn's ſon, whom he had named to ſucceed him. Matthew Paris writes, That Prince Lhewelyn being impotent by reaſon of a palſy, and ſore diſquieted by his ſon Gruffydh, ſent ambaſſadors to the king of England, ſignifying to him, that for as much as he could not expect to live long, by reaſon of his age, he was deſirous to lead the remainder of his days in peace and tranquility: and therefore now purpoſed to ſubmit himſelf to the government and protection of the king, and would hold his lands of him; promiſing withal, that whenever the king ſhould ſtand in need of his help, he would ſerve him both with men and money, to the utmoſt of his power. The biſhops of Hereford and Cheſter were ſent mediators in this behalf, though ſome of the nobility of Wales openly and peremptorily withſtood it, and upon no condition whatſoever would accept of ſuch a peace. But David being declared ſucceſſor to the principality, began to plague his brother Gruffydh, who though elder, was yet baſe-born; and took from him Aruſtly, Ceri, Cyfeilioc, Mowdhwy, Mochnant, and Careneon; and let him only enjoy the Cantref of Lhyn. But a little afterwards he diſpoſſeſſed him of all, and contrary to his oath to the biſhop of Bangor, in whoſe protection Gruffydh then remained, took him priſoner; having

having upon promiſe of no violence, obtained to ſpeak with him, and ſent him to Cricieth caſtle. But whilſt theſe A.D. 1240. two brothers continued to entertain an irreconcileable odium one to another, their father Prince Lhewelyn ap Iorwerth, to the great grief and diſſatisfaction of all the Welch, departed this life, and was very honourably interred in the abbey of Conwey, after he had reigned ſix and fifty years. He was a prince of great courage and audacity, and had no leſs prudence in contriving, than boldneſs in executing any martial adventure; he was a great ſupport to the Welch, and no leſs a plague to the Engliſh; he made very conſiderable conqueſts upon the borders, and extended the frontiers of Wales, much beyond their former limits. He had iſſue by his only wife Joan, daughter to King John of England, one ſon called David, who afterwards ſucceeded in the principality of Wales; and a daughter named Gladys, who was married to Sir Ralph Mortimer. He had alſo a baſe ſon, named Gruffydh, whom his brother David kept a cloſe priſoner to his dying day.

DAVID AP LHEWELYN.

PRINCE Lhewelyn ap Iorwerth being deceaſed, his only legitimate ſon David, whom all the barons of Wales had, as is ſaid, in his father's life-time ſworn to obey, legally ſucceeded in the government; wherein being actually confirmed, he went to the king of England to Gloceſter, and there did him homage * for his principality. Then all the barons, both Engliſh and Welch who held any lands in Wales in like manner did homage and fealty for the ſame. But the Engliſh could not long refrain from their wonted hoſtilites towards the Welch; and thereupon Gilbert Marſhal,

* See Appendix.

taking advantage of this revolution, before matters were thoroughly ſettled, brought an army before the caſtle of Aberteifi, which being delivered up to him, he fortified with a ſtrong garriſon. Prince David was as yet too weak to appear in the field; and indeed the more, by reaſon that ſeveral of his nobility and others, could not affectionately love him, for that unnatural ſpleen he ſhewed to his brother Gruffydh, whom, for no viſible reaſon, he detained in cloſe cuſtody. But above the reſt, Richard biſhop of Bangor, ſtormed at the Prince, and finding that he violated his promiſe, in ſetting his brother at liberty, whom under pretence of an amicable conſultation he had fraudulently ſeized upon in the biſhop's preſence, without more ado excommunicated him; and then retiring to England, made a very querimonious relation of the whole matter to the king, deſiring to releaſe Gruffydh out of priſon, before the rumour of ſo heinous a fact ſhould reach the court of Rome, and ſo reflect upon his Majeſty's reputation. King Henry thereupon ſent to his nephew Prince David, blaming him highly for ſuch a treacherous action, and dealing ſo ſeverely with his brother; and then earneſtly requeſted him to deliver Gruffydh out of cuſtody, both to ſave himſelf from perpetual defamation, and to deſerve an abſolution from the ſevere ſentence pronounced againſt him. But David abſolutely refuſed to comply to the king's deſire, aſſuring him, that Wales could never enjoy a peaceable time, as long as his brother Gruffydh had his liberty.

Gruffydh being acquainted with his brother's reſolution, and thinking that thereby he had unavoidably diſpleaſed the king of England, privately ſent to King Henry, aſſuring him, that if by force he would deliver him out of priſon, he would not only hold his lands for ever from him, but alſo pay him the yearly acknowledgment of three hundred marks; offering both to give his corporal oath, and deliver up ſufficient pledges for the performance of it; and withal to aſſiſt the king with all his power in bringing in

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the reſt of the Welch to his ſubjection. Moreover, Gruffydh ap Madawc, Lord of Bromfield, poſitively aſſured the king, that in caſe he would lead an army into Wales, to revenge the falſity and injurious practices of David, he would give him all poſſible aid and aſſiſtance. Indeed, King Henry, beſides this ſolemn invitation, had no weak pretence to come to Wales; for Richard, biſhop of Bangor, a fiery man, had proſecuted the matter ſo warmly at Rome, that he obtained of the Pope alſo to excommunicate David, which excommunication being denounced againſt him, his lands were pretendedly forfeited. But the king being chiefly allured with the promiſes of the Welch in the behalf of Gruffydh, levied a very formidable army to lead to Wales; ſtrictly commanding by proclamation, all the Engliſh, who owed him any martial ſervice, to repair armed to Gloceſter, by the beginning of Autumn. This rendezvous being accordingly performed, the king came thither in perſon at the time appointed, and having regulated his troops, and put all matters in convenient order, he marched to Shrewſbury, where he remained fifteen days to refreſh his army. During his ſtay there ſeveral of the nobility became ſuitors unto him on behalf of Gruffydh, whoſe condition they deſired he would commiſerate; among whom were, Ralph Lord Mortimer of Wigmore, Walter Clifford, Roger de Monte Alto, Steward of Cheſter, Maelgon ap Maelgon, Meredith ap Rotpert Lord of Cydewen, Gruffydh ap Madawc of Bromfield, Howel and Meredith the ſons of Conan ap Owen Gwynedh, and Gruffydh ap Gwenwynwyn Lord of Powis. Theſe noblemen prevailed ſo far with King Henry, that a league was concluded between him and Senena the wife of Gruffydh. For the performance of theſe articles, the aforeſaid noblemen offered to be ſecurities, and bound themſelves by their ſeveral writings. But as if all things had conſpired together againſt Prince David, ſeveral perſons that had been at continual variance and enmity among themſelves to this time, were now, by reaſon that they equally favoured Gruffydh's cauſe, made

See Appendix.

See Appendix.

made friends among one another: Morgan ap Howel Lord of Cery, made his reconciliation to Sir Ralph Mortimer, and his ſubmiſſion to King Henry, in a very ſolemn manner: in the ſame form ſeveral others of the nobility, ſubmitted to the king; as, Owen ap Howel, Maelgon ap Maelgon, Meredith ap Meredith, Howel ap Cadwalhon, and Cadwalhon ap Howel. David finding himſelf thus relinquiſhed by the greateſt part of his nobility, and particularly by Gruffydh ap Madawc, Lord of Bromfield, whom he chiefly feared, by reaſon of his great wiſdom and power, and that he was much eſteemed by the king of England, could not eaſily conclude how to carry himſelf in this perplexity of affairs. But in fine, conſidering with himſelf what a puiſſant army King Henry brought againſt him, and how himſelf was conſiderably weakened by the defection of his ſubjects, he thought it moſt adviſeable to truckle to the king; and therefore with all ſpeed ſent him his ſubmiſſion.

See Appendix.

Prince David having given a plenary ſubmiſſion to the king, deſired, that being his nephew, and the lawful heir and ſucceſſor of his father Prince Lhewelyn, he ſhould enjoy the principality of Wales, rather than Gruffydh, who was illegitimate, and in no wiſe related to the king; aſſuring him further, that the war would never be at an end, if he was ſet at liberty. King Henry knowing well the truth of all this, and withal being aſſured that Gruffydh was not only valiant himſelf, but had likewiſe very powerful abettors and promoters of his cauſe, was very inclinable to aſſent to David's requeſt, and to prevent any farther troubles, willingly granted it. Therefore David in a while after ſent his brother Gruffydh to the king, together with the pledges promiſed for the performance of the articles lately agreed upon; who were all ſent to the tower of London to be kept in ſafe cuſtody; Gruffydh being allowed a noble a-day to provide himſelf with neceſſaries. Shortly after, David came himſelf to London, and after he had done his homage, and ſworn fealty to the king of England, returned to Wales, being honourably and peaceably

peaceably diſmiſſed. But as ſoon as Gruffydh found out King Henry's mind, and that it was the leaſt part of his deſign to ſet him at liberty, having flatly denied the biſhop of Bangor his requeſt therein; he began to ſet his brains a-working, and to deviſe means whereby he might make his eſcape out of the tower. Whereupon, having one night deceived his keepers, he let himſelf down from the top of the building, by a line which he had compoſed out of the ſheets and hangings of the room; which being too weak to bear his weight, being a heavy corpulent perſon, let him down headlong to the ground; by the greatneſs of which fall he was cruſhed to pieces, and ſo preſently expired. King Henry being informed of this unhappy accident, ſeverely puniſhed the officers for their inexcuſable careleſſneſs; and ordered that his ſon, who was kept priſoner with him in the tower, ſhould be more narrowly obſerved.

After this King Henry fortified the caſtle of Dyſerth in Flintſhire; and for their paſt ſervice, or rather to oblige them to the like after, granted to Gruffydh ap Gwenwynwyn all his eſtate in Powis, and to the ſons of Conan ap Owen Gwynedh their lands in Merioneth. And the next year Maelgon Fychan forti- A. D. 1242.
fied the caſtle of Garthgrugyn, John de Mynoc the caſtle of Buelht, and Roger Mortimer that of Mely- 1243.
enyth. But all theſe preparations were to no purpoſe; for the following year early, King Henry came with an army into Wales, and began very unreaſonably to moleſt the Welch, and without any juſt pretence forcibly to ſeize upon their lands and eſtates. Indeed, after the death of Gruffydh, he had a mind no longer to keep his promiſe to David, and therefore entitled his eldeſt ſon Edward to the principality of Wales, whom he thought to oblige the Welch to obey. But Prince David underſtanding his deſign, levied all his power for the defence of his juſt right; yet finding himſelf unable to withſtand the army of the Engliſh, purpoſed to effect that by policy which he could not attain by force. He ſent therefore to

the Pope, complaining how that King Henry of England compelled him unjuſtly to hold his lands of him, and that upon no legal pretence he ſeized the eſtates of the Welch at his pleaſure; telling him moreover, that Prince Lhewelyn his father had left him and the principality of Wales to the protection of the ſee of Rome, to which he was willing to pay the yearly ſum of five hundred marks, obliging himſelf and his ſucceſſors by oath, for the due performance of this payment, The Pope (you may be ſure) gladly accepted of the offer, and thereupon gave commiſſion to the two abbots of Aberconwey and Cymer, to abſolve David from his oath of allegiance to the king of England, and having enquired into the whole ſtate of the quarrel, to tranſmit an account of it to him. The abbots according to their commiſſion, directed a very poſitive mandate to the king of England. King Henry admiring the ſtrange preſumption and confidence of theſe abbots, or more the unſatiable avarice and greedineſs of the Pope, ſent alſo to Rome; and with a greater ſum of money, eaſily adjuſted all matters: his Holineſs being very deſirous to make the beſt advantage of both parties.

See Appendix.

But Prince David finding that the Pope minded his own gain, more than to juſtify his complaints againſt the king of England, thought it to no purpoſe to rely upon his faith, but judged it more adviſeable to vindicate himſelf by force of arms. Having therefore gathered his forces together, (being now reconciled to, and followed by all the nobility of Wales, excepting Gruffydh ap Gwenwynwyn and Morgan ap Howel, who alſo ſhortly after ſubmitted to him,) he drew up his army to the marches, intending to be revenged upon the Earls of Clare and Hereford, John de Monmouth, Roger de Monte Alto, and others, who injured and oppreſſed his people; with whom he
A.D. 1245. fought divers times, and with various ſucceſs. But in the Lent-time next year, the Marchers and the Welch met near Montgomery, between whom was fought a very ſevere battle; the governor of that caſtle being general of the Engliſh, and having cunningly placed

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an ambuſcade of men, pretended, after ſome ſhort engagement, to flee, whom the Welch daringly purſued, not thinking of any treachery. But as ſoon as they were paſt the ambuſhment, up riſes an unexpected party of men, who falling upon the backs of the Welch, put them to a very great diſorder, and killed about three hundred men, not without a conſiderable loſs of their own ſide, among whom was ſlain a valiant knight called Hubert Fitz-Matthew. But King Henry being weary of theſe perpetual ſkirmiſhes and daily claſhings between the Engliſh and Welch, thought to put an end to the whole with one ſtroke; and therefore raiſed a very great army of Engliſh and Gaſcoigns, and entered into North Wales, purpoſing to waſte and deſtroy the country. But before he could advance very far, Prince David intercepted him in a narrow paſs, and ſo violently ſet upon him, that a great number of his nobility and braveſt ſoldiers, and in a manner all the Gaſcoigns were ſlain. The king finding he could effect nothing againſt the Welch, invited over the Iriſh, who landing in Angleſey, began to pillage and waſte the country; but the inhabitants gathering themſelves together in a body, quickly forced them to their ſhips: after which, King Henry having victualled and manned all his caſtles, returneſt diſſatisfied to England.

But concerning this expedition to Wales, and the continuance of the Engliſh army therein, a certain perſon in the camp, wrote to this effect to his friends in England: 'The king with his army is encamped at Gannock, and is buſy in fortifying that place, ſufficiently ſtrong already, about which we lay in our tents, in watching, faſting, praying, and freezing. We watch for fear of the Welch, who were uſed to come ſuddenly upon us in the night-time: we faſt for want of proviſion, the halfpenny loaf being now riſen and advanced to five pence: we pray that we may ſpeedily return ſafe and ſcot-free home: and we freeze for want of winter-garments, having but a thin linen ſhirt to keep us from the wind. There Mat. Paris.

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is a ſmall arm of the ſea under the caſtle where we lye, which the tide reached, by the conveniency of which, many ſhips bring us proviſion and victuals from Ireland and Cheſter: this arm lies betwixt us and Snowden, where the Welch are encamped, and is in breadth, when the tide is in, about a bow-ſhot. Now it happened, that upon the Monday before Michaelmas-day, an Iriſh veſſel came up to the mouth of the haven, with proviſion to be ſold to our camp, which being negligently looked to by the mariners, was upon the low ebb ſtranded on the other ſide of the caſtle, near the Welch. The enemy perceiving this, deſcended from the mountains, and laid ſiege to the ſhip, which was faſt upon the dry ſands; whereupon we detached in boats three hundred Welch of the borders of Cheſhire and Shropſhire, with ſome archers and armed men, to reſcue the ſhip: but the Welch, upon the approach of our men, withdrew themſelves to their uſual retirements in the rocks and woods, and were purſued for about two miles by our men afoot, who ſlew a great number of them. But in their return back, our ſoldiers being too covetous and greedy of plunder, among other ſacrilegious and profane actions; ſpoiled the abbey of Aberconwey, and burnt all the books and other choice utenſils belonging to it. The Welch being diſtracted at theſe irreligious practices, got together in great number, and in a deſperate manner ſetting upon the Engliſh, killing a great number of them, and following the reſt to the water-ſide, forced as many as could not make their eſcape into the boats, to commit themſelves to the mercy of the waves. Thoſe they took priſoners they thought to reſerve for exchange; but hearing how we put ſome of their captive nobility to death, they altered their minds, and in a revengeful manner ſcattered their dilacerated carcaſſes along the ſurface of the water. In this conflict, we loſt a conſiderable number of our men, and chiefly thoſe under the command of Richard Earl of Cornwal; as Sir Alan Buſcell, Sir Adam de Maio, Sir Geoffry

Geoffry Eſtuemy, and one Raimond a Gaſcoign, with about an hundred common ſoldiers. In the mean time, Sir Walter Biſſet ſtoutly defended the ſhip till midnight, when the tide returned; whereupon the Welch, who aſſailed us of all ſides were forced to withdraw, being much concerned that we had ſo happily eſcaped their hands. The cargo of this ſhip, was three hundred hogſheads of wine, with a plenty of other proviſion for the army, which at that time it ſtood in very great need of. But the next morning, when the ſea was returned, the Welch came merrily down again to the ſhip, thinking to ſurpriſe our men; but as luck would have it, they had at full ſea the night before relinquiſhed the ſhip, and returned ſafe to the camp. The enemy miſſing of our men, ſet upon the cargo of the ſhip, carried away all the wine and other proviſions; and then when the ſea began to flow, they put fire to the veſſel, and returned to the reſt of the army. And thus we lay encamped in great miſery and diſtreſs for want of neceſſaries, expoſed to great and frequent dangers, and in great fear of the private aſſaults and ſudden incurſions of our enemies. Oftentimes we ſet upon and aſſailed the Welch, and in one conflict we carried away an hundred head of cattle, which very triumphantly we conveyed to our camp. For the ſcarcity of proviſion was then ſo great, that there remained but one hogſhead of wine in the whole army; a buſhel of corn being ſold for twenty ſhillings; a fed ox for three or four marks; and an hen for eight pence; ſo that there happened a very lamentable mortality both of man and horſe, for want of neceſſary ſuſtenance of life.'

The Engliſh army having undergone ſuch miſeries as are here deſcribed, and King Henry, as is ſaid, perceiving it was in vain for him to continue any longer in Wales, where he was ſure to gain no great credit, he returned with his army into England, being not very deſirous to make another expedition into Wales. Then all the nobility and barons of Wales, and thoſe that had favoured and maintained Gruffydh's

Gruffydh's cauſe, were made friends and reconciled to Prince David, to whom they vowed true and perpetual allegiance. But the Prince did not long ſurvive this amity and agreement between him and his ſubjects: for falling ſick toward the beginning of this year, he died in March, at his palace in Aber, and was buried at Conwey, leaving no iſſue to ſucceed.

A.D. 1246. The only thing unpardonable in this prince, was his over jealouſy and ſeverity againſt his brother Gruffydh, a perſon ſo well beloved of the Welch, that upon his account their affection was much cooled, and in ſome entirely alienated from their prince. Indeed thus much may be ſaid for David, that Gruffydh was a valourous and an aſpiring man, and if ſet at liberty, would bid fair to eject him out of his principality; which King Henry of England too (who thought he might bring over David, a milder man, to what terms he pleaſed,) was ſenſible of, when he would by no perſuaſion diſmiſs him from cuſtody in the tower of London. But this occaſioned all the diſturbances that happened in his time, the Welch themſelves, for the love they bore to Gruffydh, inviting the king of England to come to invade their country, and to correct the unnatural enmity their Prince expreſſed to his brother. But when all differences were over, the king of England returned with his army ſhamefully back, and the Prince and his nobility reconciled; the Welch might have expected a very happy time of it, had not death taken the Prince ſo unnaturally away, before he had well known what a peaceful reign was.

LHEWELYN

LHEWELYN AP GRUFFYDH.

PRINCE David being dead, the principality of North Wales legally deſcended to Sir Ralph Mortimer, in right of his wife Gladys, daughter to Lhewelyn ap Iorwerth. But the Welch nobility being aſſembled together for the electing and nominating a ſucceſſor, thought it by no means adviſeable to admit a ſtranger to the crown, though his title was never ſo lawful; and eſpecially an Engliſhman, by whoſe obligations to the crown of England, they muſt of neceſſity expect to become ſubjects, or rather ſlaves to the Engliſh government. Wherefore they unanimouſly agreed to ſet up Lhewelyn and Owen Goch, the ſons of Gruffydh, a baſe ſon of Lhewelyn ap Iorwerth, and brother to Prince David; who being ſent for, and appearing before the aſſembly, all the nobles and barons then preſent, did them homage, and received them for their ſovereigns. But as ſoon as the king of England underſtood of the death of the Prince of Wales; he thought the country being in an unſettled and wavering condition, he might effect great matters there; and therefore he ſent one Nicholas de Miles to South Wales, with the title of Juſtice of that country, with whom he joined in commiſſion Meredith ap Rhys Gryc, and Meredith ap Owen ap Gruffydh; to eject and diſinherit Maelgon Fychan of all his lands and eſtate in South Wales. The like injurious practices were committed againſt Howel ap Meredith, who was forcibly robbed of all his eſtate in Glamorgan by the Earl of Clare. Theſe unreaſonable extortions being inſupportable; Maelgon and Howel made known their grievances to the Princes of North Wales, deſiring their ſuccour and aſſiſtance for the recovery of their lawful inheritance from the encroachments

ments of the Engliſh. But the king of England underſtanding their deſign, led his army into Wales; upon whoſe arrival, the Welch withdrew themſelves to Snowden hills, where they ſo tired the Engliſh army, that the king finding he could do no good, after ſome ſtay there returned back to England. Within a while after, Ralph Mortimer, the huſband of Gladys Dhu died; leaving his whole eſtate, and with it a lawful title to the principality of North Wales, to his ſon Sir Roger Mortimer.

A. D. 1247. The next year nothing memorable paſſed between the Engliſh and the Welch, only the diſmal effects of the laſt year's expedition, were not worn off; the ground being uncapable of cultivation, and the cattle being in great meaſure deſtroyed by the Engliſh, occaſioned great poverty and want in the country. But the greateſt calamity befel the biſhops; St. Aſaph and Bangor being deſtroyed and burnt by the Engliſh, the biſhops thereof were reduced to that utmoſt extremity, as to get their ſubſiſtence by other mens charity; the biſhop alſo of St. David's deceaſed, and he of Landaff had the misfortune to fall blind. In the biſhoprick of St. David's ſucceeded Thomas, ſurnamed Wallenſis, by reaſon that he was born in Wales; who thinking himſelf obliged to benefit his own country what lay in his power, deſired to be advanced from the archdeaconry of Lincoln to that ſee: which the king eaſily granted, and confirmed him in it. The next ſummer proved ſomewhat more favourable to the Welch; Rhys Fychan ſon to Rhys Mechyl, won from the Engliſh the caſtle of Carrec Cynnen, which his unkind mother, out of malice, or ſome ill opinion entertained of him, had ſome time before privately delivered up to them. And about the ſame time the body of Gruffydh ap Lhewelyn baſe ſon to Lhewelyn ap Iorwerth, was recovered from the king of England, by the earneſt ſollicitations of the abbots of Conwey and Yſtratflur; who conveying it to Conwey, beſtowed upon it a very pompous and honourable interment.

M. Paris, page 739.

1248.

After

After this, the affairs of the Welch proceeded peaceably for a long while, and the country had ſufficient opportunity to recover its former plenty; but at laſt, to make good the proverb, that *Plenty begets War*; they began, for want of a foreign enemy, to quarrel and fall out among themſelves. Owen was too high and ambitious to be ſatisfied with half the principality, and therefore muſt needs have a fling at the whole; wherein fortune ſo far deceived him, that he loſt his own ſtake, as will afterwards appear. But the better to encompaſs his deſign, by ſly inſinuations he perſuaded David his younger brother to ſecond his cauſe; and they with joint intereſt levied their power, with intention to dethrone their elder brother Lhewelyn, But that was no eaſy matter; for Lhewelyn was prepared to receive them, and with a puiſſant army met them in the field, and ſo was reſolved to venture all upon the fortune of a battle. It was ſtrange and grievous to behold this unnatural civil war; and the more grievous now, by reaſon that it ſo manifeſtly weakened the ſtrength of the Welch to withſtand the incurſions of the Engliſh, who were extremely pleaſed with ſo fair an opportunity to fall upon them. But they were too far engaged, to conſider of future inconveniencies; and a trial of war they muſt have, though the Engliſh were ready to fall upon both armies. The battle being joined, the day proved bloody on both ſides, and which was like to conquer was not preſently diſcovered; till at length Owen began to give ground, and in fine was overthrown, himſelf and his brother David being taken priſoners. Lhewelyn, though he had ſufficient reaſon, would not put his brothers to death; but committing them into cloſe priſon, ſeized all their eſtates into his own hands, and ſo enjoyed the whole principality of Wales. A. D. 1255.

The Engliſh ſeeing the Welch at this rate oppreſs and deſtroy one another, thought they had full liberty to deal with them as they pleaſed; and thereupon began to exerciſe all manner of wrong and injuſtice againſt them; inſomuch that the next year, all 1256.

the lords of Wales came in a body to Prince Lhewelyn, and declared their grievances, how unmercifully Prince Edward (whom his father had ſent to Wales) and others of the nobility of England dealt with them, how without any colour of juſtice they ſeized upon their eſtates, without any room for appeal; whereas, if themſelves offended in the leaſt, they were puniſhed to the utmoſt extremity. In fine, they ſolemnly declared, that they preferred to die honourably in the field, before to be ſo unmercifully enſlaved to the will and pleaſure of ſtrangers. Prince Lhewelyn was not a ſtranger to all this; and now having happily diſcovered the bent and inclination of his ſubjects, was reſolved to proſecute, if poſſible, the expulſion of the Engliſh, and to be revenged upon them for their moſt cruel, and almoſt inhuman practices towards the Welch. Having therefore drawn all his power together, being accompanied by Meredith ap Rhys Gryc, in the ſpace of one week he recovered out of the hands of the Engliſh all the inland country of North Wales, and then all Merionyth with ſuch lands as Prince Edward had uſurped in Cardigan, which he beſtowed upon Meredith the ſon of Owen ap Gruffydh. Having alſo forced Rhys Fychan out of Buelht, he conferred it upon Meredith ap Rhys; and in like manner beſtowed all the lands which he recovered, between his nobles; reſerving nothing to his own uſe, beſides Gwerthryneon, the eſtate of Sir Roger Mortimer. The next ſummer, he entered into Powis, and made war againſt Gruffydh ap Gwenwynwyn, who always had taken part with, and owned ſubjection to the king of England, which he totally overcame, excepting the caſtle of Poole, ſome ſmall part of Caerneon, and the country lying upon the banks of the Severn.

A. D. 1257.

But Rhys Fychan was not ſatisfied with the loſs of Buelht, and therefore was reſolved to try to recover it; to which end, he went to the king of England, of whom he obtained a very ſtrong army, commanded by one Stephen Bacon, which being ſent by ſea, landed at Caermardhyn in the Whitſun-week.

From

From thence the Engliſh marched to Dynefawr, and laid ſiege to the caſtle, which valiantly held out, until Lhewelyn's army came to its relief. Upon the arrival of the Welch, the Engliſh decamped from before the caſtle, and put themſelves in poſture of battle, which the Welch perceiving, they made all haſte to anſwer and oppoſe them. Whereupon there enſued a very terrible engagement which laſted a very long while; this being for number of men the greateſt battle that had been fought between the Engliſh and the Welch. But the victory favoured the Welch, the Engliſhmen being at length forced to fly, having loſt above two thouſand men, beſides ſeveral barons and knights who were taken priſoners. After this the prince's army paſſed to Dyfed, where having burnt all the country, and deſtroyed the caſtles of Abercorran, Lhanſtephan, Maenclochoc and Arberth, with all the towns thereunto belonging, returned to North Wales with much ſpoil. But as ſoon as he was arrived, great complaints were exhibited to Prince Lhewelyn againſt Jeffrey Langley lieutenant to Edward Earl of Cheſter, who without any regard to equity and conſcience, moſt wrongfully oppreſſed the inhabitants of Wales under his juriſdiction. Whereupon the prince to puniſh the maſter for the ſervant's fault, entered with ſome part of his army into the Earl's eſtate, burnt and deſtroyed all his country on both ſides the river Dee, to the gates of Cheſter. Edward had no power at preſent to oppoſe him, but being reſolved to be revenged upon the Welch with the firſt opportunity, he deſired aid of his uncle, then choſe king of the Romans, who ſent him a ſtrong detachment, with which he purpoſed to give Prince Lhewelyn battle. But finding him too ſtrong, he thought it more adviſeable to deſiſt from hoſtility, the prince's army conſiſting of ten thouſand experienced men, who were obliged by oath, rather all to die in the field, than ſuffer the Engliſh to gain any advantage over the Welch. But Gruffydh ap Madoc Maelor, Lord of Dinas Bran, a perſon of notorious reputation for injuſtice and oppreſſion, baſely for-

ſook the Welch his countrymen, and with all his forces went over to the Earl of Cheſter.

A.D. 1258. The next year Prince Lhewelyn paſſed to South Wales, and ſeized into his hands the land of Cemaes, and having reconciled the difference betwixt Rhys Gryg and Rhys Fychan, he won the caſtle of Trefdraeth, with the whole country of Rhos, excepting Haverford. There he marched in an hoſtile manner toward Glamorgan, and raſed to the ground the caſtle of Lhangymwch, and then returning to North Wales, he met by the way with Edward Earl of Cheſter, whom he forced precipitouſly to return back. But before he would put an end to this expedition, he muſt needs be revenged upon that ungrateful fugitive Gruffydh ap Madoc Maelor, and thereupon paſſing through Bromfield, he miſerably laid waſte the whole country. Upon this the kings of England and Scotland ſent to Lhewelyn requiring him to ceaſe from hoſtility, and after that unmerciful manner to devour, and forcibly to take away other mens eſtates. The prince was not over ſollicitous to hearken to their requeſt, but finding the time of the year very ſeaſonable for action againſt the Engliſh, he divided his army into two battles, each of theſe conſiſting of 1500 foot and 500 horſe, with which he purpoſed to enlarge his conqueſt. Edward Earl of Cheſter, to prevent the blow which ſo deſperately hung over his head, ſent over for ſuccours from Ireland, of whoſe coming Prince Lhewelyn being certified, manned out a fleet to intercept them, which meeting with the Iriſh at ſea, after a ſharp diſpute, forced them to return back with loſs. King Henry being acquainted with the miſcarriage of the Iriſh, reſolved to come in perſon againſt the Welch, and having drawn together the whole ſtrength of England, even from St. Michael's mount in Cornwal to the river Tweed, marched with his ſon Edward in a great rage to North Wales, and without any oppoſition advanced as far as Teganwy. But the Prince had ſtopped his farther progreſs and prevented any long ſtay he could make in Wales, having before hand cauſed all manner

of

of proviſion and forage to be carried over the river, and then ſecuring the ſtrait and narrow paſſages whereby the Engliſh might get farther into the country; the army was in a ſhort time ſo mortally fatigued, that the king for want of neceſſary ſubſiſtence was forced to retire in haſte to England with conſiderable loſs.

The prince after that ſending for all the forces in South Wales, came to the marches, where Gruffydh Lord of Bromfield finding that the king of England was not able to defend his eſtate yielded himſelf up, and then paſſing to Powis, he baniſhed Gruffydh ap Gwenwynwyn, and took all the lands in the country into his hands. Proceeding farther, he was encountered with by Gilbert de Clare Earl of Gloceſter, who with a choice party of Engliſh gave him battle. But Lhewelyn's army exceeding both in number and courage, eaſily vanquiſhed and overcame the Engliſh, and ſo the victory being quickly obtained, the prince preſently reduced to his power all the caſtles belonging to the Earl of Gloceſter. King Henry hearing of the Earl's overthrow, was much concerned at the loſs of ſo many brave ſoldiers, in whoſe valour and experience he always put a very great confidence, and therefore to revenge their deaths, he was again reſolved to march againſt the Welch. Having called his forces together, and received ſupply from Gaſcoign and Ireland he came to Wales, but not daring to venture far into the country, for fear of being forced to make another ſhameful retreat, he only deſtroyed the corn near the borders, it being harveſt time, and ſo returned to England. But Lord James Audley, whoſe daughter was married to Gruffydh, Lord of Bromfield, did more miſchief and hurt to the Welch, who having brought over a great number of horſemen from Germany to ſerve againſt the Welch, ſo terrified them with the unuſual largeneſs of the horſes, and the unaccuſtomed manner of fighting, that in the firſt encounter the Welch were eaſily overcome. But minding to revenge this diſgrace, and withal being better acquainted with their method of arms,

the Welch in a little time after made in roads into the Lord Audley's lands, where the Germans preſently ſet upon them, and purſued them to certain ſtraits, which the Welch diſcovered for a politick retreat. The Germans thinking they had entirely drove the Welch away, returned careleſsly back, but being ſet upon of the ſudden, without any thought of an enemy behind, they were all in a manner ſlain by the rallying Welch. This year a very great ſcarcity of beefs and horſes happened in England, whereof ſeveral thouſands yearly were ſupplied out of Wales, by reaſon of which, the marches were perfectly robbed of all their breed, and not ſo much as a beaſt to be ſeen in all the borders.

A. D. 1259 The next ſpring all the nobility of Wales convened together and took their mutual oaths to defend their country to death, againſt the oppreſſing invaſions of the Engliſh, and not to relinquiſh and forſake one another upon pain of perjury; though notwithſtanding, Meredith ap Rhys of South Wales violated this agreement, and put himſelf in the ſervice of the king of England. King Henry was ready to fall upon the Welch, to which purpoſe he ſummoned a parliament, wherein he propoſed to raiſe a ſubſidy towards the conqueſt of Wales, being not able of himſelf to bear the expences of this war, by reaſon of ſeveral loſſes he had already received, the country of Pembroke being lately deſtroyed and taken by the Welch, where they found plenty of ſalt, which before they were in great neceſſity of. But William de Valentia accuſing the Earls of Leiceſter and Gloceſter as the authors of all this miſchief quite broke all their meaſures, ſo the king was forced to prorogue the parliament for a time without any grant of a ſubſidy. But within a while after, it ſat at Oxford, where King Henry and Edward his ſon took a ſolemn oath to obſerve the laws and ſtatutes of the realm, and the ſame being tendered to Guy and William the king's brothers, and to Henry ſon to the king of Almain, and to Earl Warren, they refuſed to take it, and ſo departed. In this parliament

liament the lords of Wales fairly proffered to be tried by the laws for any offence they had unjuſtly committed againſt the king, which was mainly oppoſed by Edward, who cauſed one Patrick de Canton (to whom the lordſhip of Cydwely was given, in caſe he could win and keep the ſame) to be ſent to Caermardhyn as lieutenant for the king with whom Meredith ap Rhys was joined in commiſſion. Being arrived at Carmardhyn, Patrick ſent to the Prince, to deſire him to appoint commiſſioners to treat with him concerning a peace, which he conſented to, and without any ſuſpicion of treachery, ſent Meredith ap Owen, and Rhys ap Rhys to Emlyn, if poſſible, to conclude the ſame. But Patrick meaning no ſuch thing, laid an ambuſcade for the Welch, who coming honeſtly forward, were by the way villainouſly ſet upon by the Engliſh, and a great many ſlain; but thoſe that happily eſcaped, calling up the country, preſently gave chaſe to Patrick and his accomplices, who being at length overtaken, were almoſt all put to the ſword. But Prince Lhewelyn was now altogether bent upon a peace, and did not only deſire it, but was willing to purchaſe it for a ſum of money, to which purpoſe he offered to give the king 4000 marks, to his ſon 300, and 200 to the queen, which the king utterly refuſed, replying, That it was not a ſufficient recompence for all the damages he had ſuffered by the Welch. Matthew of Weſtminſter reporteth, that about Michaelmas this year, the biſhop of Bangor was commiſſioned by the prince and nobility of Wales to treat with the king of England about a peace, and to offer him 16,000 pounds for the ſame, upon theſe conditions, that according to their antient cuſtom, the Welch ſhould have all cauſes tried and determined at Cheſter, and that they ſhould freely enjoy the laws and cuſtoms of their own country; but what was the reſult of this treaty, my author does not mention.

There being no hopes of a peace, Prince Lhewelyn A. D. 1260.
early next year appeared in the field, and paſſed to South Wales, and firſt fell foul upon Sir Roger Mor-

timer, who contrary to his oath, maintained the king of England's quarrel. Having forcibly diſpoſſeſſed him of all Buelht, and without any oppoſition taken the caſtle, where was found a plentiful magazine, he marched through all South Wales, confirming his con-
A. D. 1261. queſt, and afterwards returned to his palace at Aber,
1262. betwixt Bangor and Conwey. The year following, Owen ap Meredith Lord of Cydewen died. But the next ſummer was ſomewhat more noted for action, a party of Prince Lhewelyn's men took by ſurpriſe the caſtle of Melienyth, belonging to Sir Roger Mortimer, and having put the reſt of the garriſon to the ſword, they took Howel ap Meyric the governor with his wife and children priſoners; and after that, the caſtle was demoliſhed by the prince's order. Sir Roger Mortimer hearing of this, with a great body of lords and knights came to Melienyth, where Prince Lhewelyn met him, but Sir Roger not daring to hazard a battle, planted himſelf within the ruins, and finding he could do no good, deſired leave of the prince to retire peaceably. The Prince upon the account of relation and near conſanguinity betwixt them, and withal becauſe he would not be ſo mean ſpirited as to fall upon an enemy, who had no power to reſiſt him, let him ſafely depart with his forces, and then paſſing on himſelf to Brecknock at the requeſt of the people of that country, who ſwore fidelity unto him; ſo paſſed on and returned to North Wales. And now being confederate with the barons againſt King Henry, he was reſolved to practiſe ſomething in the prejudice of the Engliſh, and ſo ſet upon the earldom of Cheſter, deſtroyed the caſtles of Tygannmy and Diſerth belonging to Edward, who coming thither, was yet not able to prevent the miſchief done to him by the Welch.
1263. The next year John Strange junior, conſtable of Montgomery with a great number of marchers, came a little before Eaſter by night, through Ceri to Cydewen, intending to ſurpriſe the caſtle, which when the people of the country underſtood, they gathered together, and ſetting upon them, ſlew two hundred of his men, but Strange with a few got ſafely back.

Within a while after, the marchers and the Welch met again near a place called Clun, where a hot engagement happened between them, in which the Welch were worſted, and had a great number of their men ſlain. After this, nothing remarkable fell out for a conſiderable time, unleſs it were, that David being releaſed out of priſon by Prince Lhewelyn his brother, moſt ungratefully forſook him, and with all his might, ſided with his enemies the Engliſh; alſo Gruffydh ap Gwenwynwyn having taken the caſtle of Mold, demoliſhed it to the ground. During this quiet and unactive interval in Wales, Meredith ap Owen, the main ſupport and defender of South Wales died, to the great diſadvantage of the affairs of that country. And A. D. 1268. now indeed, the Welch were like to be made ſenſible of the loſs of ſo conſiderable a perſon, for King Henry was reſolved once more to lead an army into Wales, and to ſee if he could have better ſucceſs than he had hitherto againſt the Welch. But when he was prepared to undertake this expedition, Ottobonus, Pope Clement's legate in England, interpoſed and meditated a peace, which was concluded upon at the caſtle of Montgomery, wherein it was articled, that Prince Lhewelyn ſhould give the king thirty thouſand marks, and the king was to grant the prince a charter, from thenceforth to receive homage and fealty of all the nobility and barons of Wales, beſides one, ſo that they could hold their lands of no other but himſelf, and from thence forward he was to be lawfully ſtiled Prince of Wales. This charter being ratified and confirmed as well by the authority of the pope, as the king's ſeal; Prince Lhewelyn deſiſted from any farther acts of hoſtility, and punctually obſerved all the articles of the agreement betwixt him and King Henry, ſo that nothing more was outrageouſly tranſacted between the Engliſh and Welch, during the remainder of this king's reign. Within that ſpace, died Grono ap Ednyfed Fychan one of the chief lords of the prince's council, and ſhortly after him Gruffydh Lord of Bromfield, who lies buried at Vale Crucis.

A. D. 1272. But the death of King Henry put an end to the obſervations of the peace betwixt the Engliſh and Welch, who dying on the ſixteenth day of November this year, left this kingdom to his ſon Edward. Prince Edward was then in the Holy Land, and very active againſt thoſe enemies of chriſtianity, the Turks, where he had already continued above an year; but underſtanding of his father's death, and that in his abſence he was proclaimed king of England, he made all haſte to return to receive the ſolemnity of coronation. But what by the tediouſneſs of the journey, and what by being honourably detained at princes' courts in his way, it was two years before he could get into England, then upon the fifteenth of Auguſt, and in the year 1274, he was crowned at Weſtminſter. Prince Lhewelyn was ſummoned to attend at his coronation, but he flatly refuſed to appear, unleſs upon ſure terms of ſafe conduct, for having offended ſeveral of the Engliſh nobility, he could not in ſafety paſs through their country without the danger of expoſing his perſon to the inveterate malice and acceptable revenge of ſome of them. And therefore without the king's brother, the Earl of Gloceſter, and Robert Burnell Lord Chief Juſtice of England, were delivered up as pledges for his ſafe conduct, he would not come to do his homage and fealty at his coronation, according to the writ directed to him. And indeed, ſeeing King Edward had broke the peace lately concluded upon before the Pope's legate, and did receive, and honourably entertain ſuch noblemen of Wales, as for their diſloyalty were baniſhed by Prince Lhewelyn, by whom he feared ſome treachery; there was no reaſon that the prince ſhould pay him any ſubjection, but by the breach of peace was exempted from all homage. However, Prince Lhewelyn to ſhew that it was not out of any ſtubbornneſs or diſreſpect to the king of England, that he refuſed to come, ſent up his reaſons by the abbots of Yſtratflur and Conwey to Robert Kilwarby archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the reſt of the biſhops then ſitting in convocation in the New Temple at London, which were to this effect.

To

To the moſt Reverend Fathers in God, Robert, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Metropolitan of all England, the Archbiſhop of York, and the reſt of the Biſhops in Convocation; Lhewelyn Prince of Wales and Lord of Snowden, ſendeth greeting.

WE would have your Lordſhips to underſtand, that whereas formerly moſt terrible and inceſſant wars were continually managed betwixt Henry king of England and Ourſelf; the ſame were at laſt compoſed, and all matters of differences were adjuſted by the means of his Excellency Cardinal Ottobonus, the Pope's legate, who having drawn the articles and conditions of the peace agreed upon, they were ſigned and ſwore to, not only by the king, but alſo the prince his ſon, now king of England. Among theſe articles were comprehended, that We and our ſucceſſors ſhould hold of the king and his ſucceſſor, the principality of Wales, ſo that all the Welch lords, one baron excepted, ſhould hold their baronies and eſtates *in capite* of Us, and ſhould pay their homage and fealty for the ſame to Us; We in like manner doing homage to the king of England and his ſucceſſors. And beſides, that the king and his ſucceſſors ſhould never offer to receive and entertain any of Our enemies, nor any ſuch of Our own ſubjects as were lawfully baniſhed and excluded our dominions of Wales, nor by any means defend and uphold ſuch againſt Us. Contrary to which articles, King Edward has forcibly ſeized upon the eſtates of certain barons of Wales, of which they and their anceſtors have been immemorably poſſeſſed of and detains a barony, which by the form of peace ſhould have been delivered to us; and moreover, has hitherto entertained David ap Gruffydh our brother, and Gruffydh ap Gwenwyn-

wyn, with ſeveral other of Our enemies who are outlaws and fugitives of Our country, and though We have often exhibited Our grievances and complaints againſt them, for deſtroying and pillaging our country, yet We could never obtain of the king any relief or redreſs for the ſeveral wrongs and injuries we received at their hands; but on the contrary they ſtill perſiſt to commit waſtes and other outrages in Our dominions. And for all this, he ſummons Us to do him homage at a place which is altogether dangerous to Our perſon, where Our inveterate enemies, and which is worſe, Our own unnatural ſubjects, bear the greateſt ſway and reſpect with the king. And though we have alledged ſeveral reaſons to the king and his council, why the place by him aſſigned, is not ſafe and indifferent for Us to come, and deſire him to appoint another, whereto we might with more ſafety reſort, or elſe that he would ſend commiſſioners to receive Our oath and homage, till he could more opportunely receive them in perſon; yet he would not aſſent to Our juſt and reaſonable requeſt, nor be ſatisfied with the reaſons We exhibited for Our non-appearance. Therefore We deſire your lordſhips earneſtly to weigh the diſmal effects that will happen to the ſubjects both of England and Wales upon the breach of the articles of peace, and that you would be pleaſed to inform the king of the ſad conſequence of another war, which can no way be prevented, but by uſing Us according to the conditions of the former peace, which for Our part, We will in no meaſure tranſgreſs. But if the king will not hearken to your counſel, We hope that you will hold Us excuſed, if the nation be diſquieted and troubled thereupon, which as much as in Us lieth We endeavour to prevent.

King Edward would admit of no excuſe, nor hearken to any manner of reaſon in the caſe, but was unmercifully enraged, and conceived an unpardonable diſpleaſure againſt Prince Lhewelyn, which yet he thought convenient to conceal and diſſemble for a time. Indeed, he conld never abide Lhewelyn, ſince

ſince the time that he was vanquiſhed and put to flight by him at the marches, ſo that the chief cauſe of King Edward's anger, originally proceeded from a point of honour, which this refuſal of homage ſerved ſufficiently to increaſe. But to proſecute his revenge, which upon this ſcore is in princes very fierce and unforgetful, in a ſhort time he came to Cheſter, meaning to recover by force what he could not obtain by fair means. From hence he ſent to the Prince of Wales, requiring him to come over and do him homage, which Lhewelyn either abſolutely refuſing or willingly detracting to do, King Edward made ready his army to force him to it. But there happened an accident A. D. 1277. which took off a great part of Prince Lhewelyn's ſtubbornneſs; for at this time the counteſs of Leiceſter the widow of Simon Montfort who lived at Montargis a nunnery in France ſent over for Wales her daughter, the Lady Eleanor, (whom Lhewelyn extremely loved) with her brother Aemerike, to be married to the prince, according to the agreement made in her father, Earl Montfort's time. But Aemerike fearing to touch upon the coaſt of England, ſteered his courſe towards the iſlands of Scilly, where by the way they were all taken by four Briſtol ſhips, and brought to King Edward, who received the lady very honourably, but committed her brother priſoner to the caſtle of Coff, whence he was afterward removed to the caſtle of Shirburne. The king having obtained this unexpected advantage over Lhewelyn, began boldly to fall upon him, and ſo dividing his army into two battalions, led one himſelf into North Wales, and advanced as far as Ruthlan, where he ſtrongly fortified the caſtle. The other he committed to Paganus de Camutiis, a great ſoldier, who entering into Weſt Wales, burned and deſtroyed a great part of the country. But the people of South Wales, fearing that his next expedition was levelled againſt them voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves to the king, and did him homage, and then delivered up the caſtle of Yſtratywy to Paganus.

Prince

Prince Lhewelyn hearing of this and finding his own ſubjects to forſake him, but more eſpecially being deſirous to recover his eſpouſe the Lady Eleanor, thought it likewiſe adviſeable to ſubmit, and therefore ſued to King Edward for a peace, who granted it, but upon very ſevere conditions upon Lhewelyn's ſide. The agreement conſiſted of ten articles, which were, I. That the prince ſhould ſet at liberty all manner of priſoners, that upon the king's account were detained in cuſtody. II. That for the king's favour and good-will; he ſhould pay 50,000 marks, to be received at the king's pleaſure. III. That theſe four cantreds or hundreds, viz. Cantref Ros, where the king's caſtle of Teganwy ſtands; Ryfonioc, where Denbigh; Tegengl, where Ruthlan; Dyffryn Clwyd, where Rhuthyn ſtands, ſhould remain in the king's hands. IV. That the Lords Marchers ſhould quietly enjoy all the lands they had conquered within Wales, excepting in the iſle of Angleſey, which was wholly granted to the Prince. V. That in conſideration of this iſland, the prince ſhould pay 5000 marks in hand, with the reſerve of a 1000 marks yearly to begin at Michaelmas; and in caſe the prince died without iſſue, the whole iſland ſhould return to the king. VI. That the prince ſhould come every year to England to pay his homage to the king for all his lands. VII. That all the barons of Wales, excepting five in Snowden, ſhould hold their lands and eſtates of the king, and no other. VIII. That the title of Prince ſhould remain only for his life, and not deſcend to his ſucceſſors, and after his death, the five lords of Snowden ſhould hold their lands only from the king. IX. That for the performance of theſe articles, the prince ſhould deliver up for hoſtages ten perſons of the beſt quality in the country, without impriſoning, diſinheriting, and any time of redemption determined. And farther, that the king ſhould chuſe twenty perſons in North Wales, who beſides the prince ſhould take their oaths for the due performance of theſe articles, and in caſe the prince ſhould ſwerve and recede from them, and upon admonition thereof not repent, they

they ſhould forſake him, and become his enemies. X. The Prince was obliged to ſuffer his brethren quietly to enjoy their lands in Wales, whereof David for his ſervice was dubbed knight by the king, and had the Earl of Derby's widow given in matrimony, and with her as a portion, the caſtle of Denbigh in North Wales, beſides a 1000 pounds in lands. His other brother Roderic was lately eſcaped out of priſon into England, and the younger called Owen, was upon his compoſition delivered out of priſon.

King Edward having impoſed theſe ſevere and unmerciful conditions upon Prince Lhewelyn, and for a better ſecurity for the performance of them, built a caſtle at Aberyſtwyth, returned very honourably into England; upon whoſe arrival, the people willingly granted him a ſubſidy of the twentieth part of their eſtates towards his charges in this war. But it ſeems very probable that Prince Lhewelyn ſubmitted to theſe intolerable conditions, more upon the account of his amours, and to regain the Lady Eleanora out of the king of England's hand, than that he was apprehenſive of any conſiderable danger he might receive by the Engliſh troops. For it is hardly conceiveable, that a prince of ſuch notorious conduct and valour, would ſo eaſily accept of ſuch hard terms, and in a meaſure deliver up his principality, when there was no neceſſity ſo to do, without reſiſting an enemy, whom he had frequently overcome, and forced to retire back with greater inequality than the Engliſh had at preſent over him. But the force of love worked wonders, and in this caſe proved moſt irreſiſtible, which to obtain, Lhewelyn did not think hard to forfeit his proper right to his inveterate enemies, and for ever to exclude his poſterity from ſucceeding in their lawful inheritance. The next year A. D. 1278. therefore, he had his wiſh accompliſhed, and was married to Eleanora at Worceſter, the king and queen, with all the nobility and perſons of quality in England, honouring the wedding with their preſence.

But

But this ſpecious amity, and the peace lately concluded betwixt them did not laſt long, the Engliſh governors in the marches and in-land countries of Wales, preſuming upon the prince's ſubmiſſion to the king, grievouſly oppreſſed the inhabitants of the country, with new and unheard of exactions, and with intolerable partiality openly encouraged the Engliſh to defraud and oppreſs the Welch. Theſe inſupportable practices moved the Welch to go in a body to David Lord of Denbigh, to endeavour a reconciliation between him and his brother the prince, that they both being at unity, might eaſily deliver themſelves and their country from the unmerciful
A. D. 1281. tyranny of the Engliſh. David was not ignorant of the miſeries of his countrymen, and therefore gladly ſubmitted to be reconciled to his brother, with promiſe never to ſide again with the king of England, but to become his utter enemy. This happy union being thus effected, David was choſe general of the army, with which he preſently marched to Hawarden, and ſurpriſing the caſtle ſlew all that oppoſed him, and took Roger Clifford priſoner, who had been ſent by King Edward, Juſtitiar into thoſe parts. From thence, being joined by the prince, he paſſed to Ruthlan, and laid ſiege to the caſtle; but upon notice given that the king was marching to raiſe the ſiege, he thought convenient to withdraw, and to retire back. At the ſame time Rhys ap Maelgon and Gruffydh ap Meredith ap Owen, with other lords of South Wales, took from the Engliſh the caſtle of Aberyſtwyth, with divers others in that country, and ſpoiled all the people thereabouts, who owned ſubjection to the crown of England. In the mean while, John Peckham archbiſhop of Canterbury, perceiving how matters were like to proceed between the king and the prince, and how the kingdom was effectually involved in a war, of his own proper motion came to Prince Llewelyn, to endeavour a re-ſubmiſſion from him and his brother David to King Edward, and ſo to put a ſtop to any farther hoſtilities.

But

But he ſent before-hand to the prince and people of Wales, intimating to them, 'That for the love he bore to the Welch nation, he undertook this arbitration, without the knowledge, and contrary to the king's liking; and therefore earneſtly deſired, that they would ſubmit to a peace with the Engliſh, which himſelf would endeavour to bring to paſs. And becauſe he could make no long continuance in thoſe parts, he wiſhed them to conſider, how that if he ſhould be forced to depart before any thing was brought to a concluſion, they could hardly find another who would ſo heartily eſpouſe their cauſe; and farther threatened, that in caſe they contemned and derided his endeavours, he would not only inſtigate the Engliſh army, now greatly ſtrengthened and increaſed, to fall upon them, but alſo ſignify their ſtubbornneſs to the court and biſhop of Rome, who eſteemed and honoured England, beyond any other kingdom in the world. Moreover, he much lamented to hear of the exceſſive cruelty of the Welch, even beyond that of the Saracens and other infidels, who never refuſed to permit ſlaves and captives to be ranſomed; which the Welch were ſo far from practiſing, that even ſome time they ſlew thoſe for whoſe redemption they received money. And whereas they were wont to eſteem and reverence holy and eccleſiaſtical perſons, they are now ſo far degenerated from devotion and ſanctity, that nothing is more acceptable to them than war and ſedition, which they had now great need to forſake and repent of. Laſtly, he propoſed, that they would ſignify to him, wherein, and what laws and conſtitutions of their's was violated by the Engliſh, and by what means a firm and a laſting peace might be eſtabliſhed; which, if they rejected, they muſt expect to incur the decree and cenſure of the church, as well as endure the violent in-roads and depredations of a powerful army.'

To theſe, partly admonitions, and partly threatenings of the archbiſhop, Prince Lhewelyn returned an anſwer;

anſwer: 'That he humbly thanked his Grace for the pains and trouble he undertook in his, and his ſubjects' behalf; and more particularly, becauſe he would venture to come to Wales, contrary to the pleaſure and good liking of the king. And as for concluding a peace with him, he would not have his Grace be ignorant, that with all readineſs he was willing to ſubmit to it, upon condition that the king would duly and ſincerely obſerve the ſame. And though he would
A.D. 1281. be glad of his longer continuance in Wales, yet he hoped that no obſtructions would happen of his ſide, why a peace (which of all things he moſt deſired) might not be forthwith concluded, and rather by his Grace's procuring than any others; ſo that there would be no farther need of acquainting the Pope with his obſtinacy, nor moving the king of England to uſe any force againſt him. And though the kingdom of England be under the immediate protection of the ſee of Rome, yet when his Holineſs comes to underſtand of the great and unſufferable wrongs done to him by the Engliſh; how the articles of peace were broken, churches and all other religious houſes in Wales were burned down and deſtroyed, and religious perſons unchriſtianly murdered, he hoped he would rather pity and lament his condition, than with addition of puniſhment encreaſe and augment his ſorrow. Neither ſhall the kingdom of England be anywiſe diſquieted and moleſted by his means, in caſe the peace be religiouſly obſerved towards him and his ſubjects. But who they are that delight themſelves with war and bloodſhed, manifeſtly appears by their actions and behaviour; the Welch being glad to live quietly upon their own, if they might be permitted by the Engliſh, who coming to the country, utterly deſtroy whatever comes in their way, without regard either to ſex, age, or religious places. But he was extreme ſorry that any one ſhould be ſlain, having paid his ranſom; the author of which unworthy action he did not pretend to maintain, but would inflict upon him his condign puniſhment,

puniſhment, in caſe he could be got out of the woods and deſarts, where as an outlaw, he lives undiſcovered. But as to commencing a war in a ſeaſon inconvenient, he proteſted he knew nothing of that till now; yet thoſe that did ſo, do ſolemnly atteſt that to be the only meaſure they had to ſave themſelves, and that they had no other ſecurity for their lives and fortunes, than to keep themſelves in arms. Concerning his ſins and treſpaſſes againſt God, with the aſſiſtance of his Grace, he would endeavour to repent of; neither ſhould the war be willingly continued by him, in caſe he might ſave himſelf harmleſs; but before he would be unjuſtly diſpoſſeſſed of his legal property, he thought it but reaſonable, by all poſſible meaſures to defend himſelf. And he was very willing, upon due examination of the treſpaſſes committed, to make ſatisfaction and retribution of all wrongs committed by him and his ſubjects; ſo that the Engliſh would obſerve the ſame on their ſide; and likewiſe was ready to conclude a peace, which he thought was impoſſible to be eſtabliſhed, as long as the Engliſh had no regard to articles, and ſtill oppreſs his people with new and unwarrantable exactions. Therefore ſeeing his ſubjects were unchriſtianly abuſed by the king's officers, and all his country moſt tyrannically harraſſed, he ſaw no reaſon why the Engliſh, upon any fault of his ſide, ſhould threaten to bring a formidable army to his country, nor the church pretend to cenſure him: ſeeing alſo, he was very willing upon the aforeſaid conditions, to ſubmit to a peace. And laſtly, he deſired his Grace, that he would not give the more credit to his enemies, becauſe they were near his perſon, and could deliver their complaints frequently, and by word of mouth; for they who made no conſcience of oppreſſing, would not in all probability, ſtick to defame, and make falſe accuſations; and therefore his Grace would make a better eſtimation of the whole matter, by examining their actions, rather than believing their words.'

Prince Lhewelyn having to this purpoſe replied in general to the archbiſhop's articles, preſented him with a copy of the ſeveral grievances, which himſelf and others of his ſubjects had wrongfully and unjuſtly received at the hands of the Engliſh, and theſe, though ſomewhat tedious, are thought neceſſary to be particularly inſerted in the appendix, by reaſon that they demonſtrably vindicate the Welch nation, from the unreaſonable aſperſions which the Engliſh of theſe times caſt upon it. For, the breach of peace, and the occaſion of thoſe diſmal diſturbances in the kingdom, are, by the Engliſh writers of thoſe times wholly attributed to the reſtleſs and rebellious humour and unconſtant temper of the Welch: whereas, had they looked at home, they might have found the original of all theſe troubles, to have proceeded from the intolerable extortions and inſupportable oppreſſions of their own nation. For whoever conſiders theſe unmerciful grievances, and the manifold wrongs the Welch endured, it cannot in reaſon be expected, but that they would endeavour to vindicate themſelves, and repel force by force. For had the Engliſh the liberty of diſpoſſeſſing them wrongfully of their proper inheritance and eſtates, and it was not lawful for the Welch to endeavour the defending and keeping of their own? and muſt they be reckoned diſobedient, and promoters of ſedition, upon the account that they would not be trampled under, and enſlaved by the Engliſh? theſe meaſures were too hard and intolerable, and ſcarce allowable in an infidel nation; to oppreſs, (and what in them lay) eradicate a people, for no other reaſon, than becauſe they were weaker and more helpleſs than themſelves; and then, what is worſe, to accuſe them of being authors of ſedition, becauſe they would not ſuffer themſelves to be peaceably enſlaved, but endeavoured to vindicate their right by main force. But it is highly probable, that King Edward had no inclination to obſerve, what articles of agreement ſoever were concluded upon; and therefore encouraged his deputies in the marches and inland country of Wales, in all their oppreſſions and

ſiniſtrous dealings towards the Welch. This was the beſt method, and the moſt expedient means to reduce the country of Wales to ſubjection to the crown of England, which the king had long ago intentionally effected; and to accuſe the Welch of not obſerving the conditions of peace, was a ſpecious pretence to bring that actually to paſs, and to lead an army into the country. But whatever the Engliſh might pretend, it is evident the Welch had the greater occaſion to complain, as appears from the grievances committed as well againſt the prince himſelf, as others of his ſubjects. See the Appendix.

The archbiſhop having read over theſe grievances, and finding the Welch to be upon good reaſon guiltleſs of that ſevere character, which by the malicious inſinuations of the Engliſh, he had conceived of them, went to King Edward; requeſting him to take into conſideration the unjuſt wrongs and injuries done to the Welch; which if he would not redreſs, at leaſt he might excuſe them from any breach of obedience to him, ſeeing they had ſo juſt a reaſon for what they did. The king replied, That he willingly forgave them, and would make reaſonable ſatisfaction for any wrong done; ſo that they had free acceſs to declare their grievances before him; and then might ſafely depart, in caſe it would appear juſt and lawful they ſhould. The archbiſhop upon this thought he had obtained his purpoſe, and therefore, without any ſtay, poſted it to Snowden, where the prince and his brother David reſided; and having acquainted them with the king's mind, earneſtly deſired that they, and the reſt of the nobility of Wales, would ſubmit themſelves, and by him be introduced to the king's preſence. Prince Lhewelyn, after ſome times conference and debate, declared that he was ready to ſubmit to the king, with the reſerve only of two particulars; namely, his conſcience, whereby he was obliged to regard the ſafety and liberties of his people; and then the decency of his own ſtate and quality. But the king underſtanding by the archbiſhop, how

that the prince ſtood upon terms, poſititvely refuſed to conſent to any more treaty of peace, than that he ſhould ſimply ſubmit without any farther conditions. The archbiſhop had experience enough, that the Welch would never agree to ſuch propoſals; and therefore deſired of his Majeſty, that he would give him leave, with the reſt of the Engliſh nobility preſent, to confer and conclude upon the matter; which being granted, they unanimouſly reſolved upon the following articles, and ſent them to the prince by John Wallenſis, biſhop of St. David's.

I. The king will have no treaty of the four cantreds, and other lands which he has beſtowed upon his nobles; nor of the iſle of Angleſey.

II. In caſe the tenants of the four cantreds ſubmit themſelves, the king purpoſeth to deal kindly and honourably with them; which we are ſufficiently ſatisfied of, and will, what in us lies, endeavour to further.

III. We will do the like touching Prince Lhewelyn, concerning whom we can return no other anſwer, than that he muſt barely ſubmit himſelf to the king, without hopes of any other conditions.

Theſe were the publick articles agreed upon by the Engliſh nobility, and ſent to Prince Lhewelyn; beſides which, they ſent ſome private meaſures of agreement, relating both to him and his brother David; promiſing, that in caſe he would ſubmit, and put the king in quiet poſſeſſion of Snowden, his Majeſty would beſtow an Engliſh county upon him, with the yearly revenue of a thouſand pound ſterling. And moreover, his daughter ſhould be provided for, ſuitable to her birth and quality, and all his ſubjects according to their eſtate and condition; and in caſe he ſhould have male iſſue by a ſecond wife, the aforeſaid county and a thouſand pound ſhould remain to his poſterity for ever. As for David, the

prince's

prince's brother, if he would conſent to go to the Holy Land, upon condition not to return but upon the king's pleaſure, all things ſhould be honourably prepared for his journey with reſpect to his quality; and his child maintained and provided for by the king. To theſe the archbiſhop added his threats; That in caſe they did not comply, and ſubmit themſelves to the king's mercy, there were very ſevere and imminent dangers hanging over their heads; a formidable army was ready to make an in-road into their country, which would not only gaul and oppreſs them, but in all probability totally eradicate the whole nation: beſides which, they were to expect the ſevereſt cenſure and puniſhment of the church.

But all this could not force ſo unlimited a ſubmiſſion from the prince, but that he would ſtick upon ſome certain conditions; and therefore by letter he acquainted the achbiſhop, 'That he was with all willingneſs deſirous to ſubmit himſelf to the king; but withal, that he could not do it but in ſuch a manner as was ſafe and honeſt for him. And becauſe the form of ſubmiſſion contained in the articles ſent to him, were by himſelf and his council thought pernicious and illegal for him to conſent to, as tending rather to the deſtruction, than the ſecurity of himſelf and his ſubjects, he could in no wiſe agree to it; and in caſe himſelf ſhould be willing, the reſt of his nobility and people would never admit of it, as knowing for certain the miſchief and inconveniency that would enſue thereby. Therefore he deſired his lordſhip, that for a confirmation of an honeſt and a durable peace, which he had all this while earneſtly laboured for, he would manage matters circumſpectly, and with due regard to the following articles. For it was much more honourable for the king, and far more conſonant to reaſon, that he ſhould hold his lands in the country where he was born and dwelt in, than that by diſpoſſeſſing of him, his eſtate ſhould be beſtowed upon ſtrangers.' With this was ſent the general

neral anſwer of the Welch to the archbiſhop's articles, viz.

I. Though the king would not conſent to treat of the four cantreds, nor of the iſle of Angleſey; yet unleſs theſe be comprehended in the treaty, the prince's council will not conclude a peace; by reaſon that theſe cantreds have ever, ſince the time of Camber the ſon of Brutus, properly and legally belonged to the Princes of Wales; beſides the confirmation which the preſent prince obtained by the conſent of the king and his father, at the treaty before Cardinal Ottobonus, the Pope's legate, whoſe letters patent do ſtill appear. And more, the juſtice of the thing itſelf is plainly evident, that it is more reaſonable for our heirs to hold the ſaid cantreds for money, and other ſervices due to the king, than that ſtrangers enjoy the ſame, who will forcibly abuſe and oppreſs the people.

II. All the tenants of the cantreds of Wales do unanimouſly declare, that they dare not ſubmit themſelves to the king's pleaſure; by reaſon that he never from the beginning took care to obſerve either covenant, oath, or any other grant to the prince and his people; and becauſe his ſubjects have no regard to religion, but moſt cruelly and unchriſtianly tyrannize over churches and religious perſons; and then, for that we do not underſtand ourſelves any way obliged thereunto, ſeeing we be the prince's tenants, who is willing to pay the king all uſual and accuſtomed ſervices.

III. As to what is required, that the prince ſhould ſimply commit himſelf to the king's will, we all declare, that for the aforeſaid reaſons, none of us dare come, neither will we permit our prince to come to him upon thoſe conditions.

IV. That ſome of the Engliſh nobility will endeavour to procure a proviſion of a thouſand pounds a-year in England; we would let them know, that we can accept of no ſuch penſion; becauſe it is procured for no other end, than that the prince

being disinherited, themselves may obtain his lands in Wales.

V. The prince cannot in honesty resign his paternal inheritance, which has for many ages been enjoyed by his predecessors, and accept of other lands among the English, of whose customs and language he is ignorant; and upon that score, may at length be fraudulently deprived of all, by his malicious and inveterate enemies.

VI. Seeing the king intends to deprive him of his antient inheritance in Wales, where the land is more barren and untilled; it is not very probable that he will bestow upon him, a more fruitful and an arable estate in England.

VII. As to the clause, that the prince should give the king a perpetual possession of Snowden; we only affirm, that seeing Snowden essentially belongs to the principality of Wales, which the prince and his predecessors have enjoyed since Brute, the prince's council will not permit him to renounce it, and accept another estate in England, to which he has not equal right.

VIII. The people of Snowden declare, That though the prince should give the king possession of it, they would never own, and pay submission to strangers; for in so doing, they would bring upon themselves the same misery, that the people of the four cantreds have for a long time groaned under; being most rudely handled and unjustly oppressed by the king's officers; as woefully appears by their several grievances.

IX. As for David, the prince's brother, we see no reason, why against his will he should be compelled to take a journey to the Holy Land; which if he happens to undertake hereafter upon the account of religion, it is no cause that his issue should be disinherited, but rather encouraged.

Now seeing neither the prince nor any of his subjects upon any account whatsoever, have moved and

begun this war, but only defended themſelves, their properties, laws, and liberties from the encroachments of other perſons; and ſince the Engliſh, for either malice or covetouſneſs to obtain our eſtates, have unjuſtly occaſioned all theſe troubles and broils in the kingdom, we are aſſured that our defence is juſt and lawful, and therein depend upon the aid and aſſiſtance of heaven; which will be moſt cruelly revenged upon our ſacrilegious and inhuman enemies, who have left no manner of enormities, in relation to God and man, uncommitted. Therefore your Grace would more juſtly threaten your eccleſiaſtical cenſures, againſt the authors and abettors of ſuch unparallelled villanies, than the innocent ſufferers. And beſides, we much admire, that you ſhould adviſe us to part with our own eſtates, and to live among our enemies, as if, when we cannot peaceably enjoy what is our own unqueſtionable right, we might expect to have quiet poſſeſſion of another man's: and though, as you ſay, it be hard to live in war and perpetual danger; yet much harder it is, to be utterly deſtroyed and reduced to nothing; eſpecially, when we ſeek but the defence of our own liberties from the inſatiable ambition of our enemies. And ſeeing your Grace has promiſed to fulminate ſentence againſt all them that either for malice or profit would hinder and obſtruct the peace; it is evident who in this reſpect are tranſgreſſors and delinquents; the fear and apprehenſion of impriſonment and ejection out of our eſtates, the ſenſe of oppreſſion and tyrannical government; having compelled us to take up arms for the ſecurity of our lives and fortune. Therefore as the Engliſh are not diſpoſſeſſed of their eſtates, for their offences againſt the king, ſo we are willing to be puniſhed, or make other ſatisfaction for our crimes, without being diſinherited; and as to the breach of the peace, it is notorious that they were the authors, who never regarded either promiſe or covenant, never made amends for treſpaſſes, nor remedy for our complaints.

When the archbiſhop ſaw there was no likelihood of a mediation, and that a peace was impoſſible to be concluded as long as the Welch ſtuck upon conditions; he preſently relinquiſhed his pretended affection towards them, and denounced a ſentence of excommunication againſt the prince and all his adherents. It was a ſubject of no little wonder, that a perſon of ſo reputed a ſanctity, who eſteemed the ſeveral grievances done to the Welch to be intolerable, ſhould now condemn them for refuſal of unlimited ſubmiſſion to the king of England; whereas he had already owned it to be unreaſonable. But this eccleſiaſtical cenſure was only a prologue to a more melancholy ſcene; King Edward immediately upon it, ſending an army by ſea to Angleſey, without any great oppoſition, conquered the iſland, and without any mercy, put all that withſtood him to the ſword. From thence deſigning to paſs over to the continent, he cauſed a bridge of boats covered with planks to be built over the Menay (being an arm of the ſea which parteth the iſle from the main land) at a place called Moel y don, not far from Bangor, where the water is narroweſt. The bridge being finiſhed, which was ſo broad as that threeſcore men might paſs in a breaſt, William Latimer, with a ſtrong party of the beſt experienced ſoldiers, and Sir Lucas Thany, commander of the Gaſcoigns and Spaniards, whereof a great number ſerved the king, paſſed over, but could diſcover no ſign, or any the leaſt intimation of an enemy. But as ſoon as the tide began to appear, and the ſea had overflown beſide the bridge, down come the Welch fiercely out of the mountains, and ſetting upon the diſheartened Engliſh, killed or drowned their whole number, excepting Latimer, who by the ſwimming of his horſe got ſafe to the bridge. In this action, ſeveral worthy ſoldiers of the Engliſh ſide were loſt; among whom were Sir Lucas Thany, Robert Clifford, Sir Walter Lyndſey, two brothers of Robert Burnel biſhop of Bath, with many others; in all to the number of thirteen knights, ſeventeen young gentlemen,

men, and two hundred common ſoldiers. A little after, or as ſome ſay before, another engagement paſſed between the Engliſh and the Welch, wherein the former loſt fourteen colours, the Lords Audley and Clifford the younger being ſlain, and the king himſelf forced to retreat for ſafety to the caſtle of Hope.

And while theſe things paſſed in North Wales, the Earl of Gloceſter and Sir Edmund Mortimer acted vigorouſly with their forces in South Wales; and fighting the Welch at Lhandeilo Fawr, overthrew them with the loſs of no conſiderable perſon, ſaving William de Valence the king's couſin-german, and four knights beſides. Prince Lhewelyn was all this while in Cardigan, waſting and deſtroying all the country, and principally the lands of Rhys ap Meredith, who very unnaturally held with the king of England in all theſe wars. But being at length tired with action, with a few men privately ſeparated himſelf from his army, and came to Buelht, thinking to eaſe and reſpite himſelf there undiſcovered. But coming to the river Wye, he met with Edmund Mortimer and John Gifford, with a conſiderable party of the people of that country which Mortimer was lord of. But neither party venturing to aſſail the other, Prince Lhewelyn with one only ſervant retired to a private grove in a neighbouring valley, there to conſult with certain lords of the country, who had appointed to meet him. In the mean time Mortimer deſcends from the hill, with intention to fall upon Lhewelyn's men; which they perceiving, betook themſelves to the bridge called Pont Orewyn, and manfully defended the paſſage he was to croſs. Mortimer could effect nothing againſt them, till he had gained the bridge, the river being impaſſable; and to force them to quit it, ſeemed altogether impracticable. But at laſt, the river was diſcovered to be fordable a little below, and ſo Helias Walwyn was detached with a party through the river, who unexpectedly falling upon the backs of the defendants, eaſily forced them to leave the bridge, and ſave themſelves by flight. Prince Lhewelyn all this while in

vain

vain expected the lords of Buelht, and in fine continued to wait ſo long, till Mortimer having paſſed over the bridge, ſurrounded the wood he was in with armed men. The prince perceiving himſelf to be betrayed, thought to make his eſcape to his men; but the Engliſh ſo cloſely purſued him, that before he could come in, one Adam Francton, not knowing who he was, run him through with his ſword, being unarmed. The Welch ſtill expected the arrival of their prince, and though but a few in number, ſo gallantly maintained their ground, that in ſpite of the far greater number of the Engliſh, they were at length with much ado put to flight. The battle being over, Francton returned to plunder his dead; but perceiving him to be the prince of Wales, he thought himſelf to have obtained a ſufficient prize, and thereupon preſently chopt off his head, and ſent it to King Edward at Conwey, who very joyfully cauſed it to be placed upon the higheſt pinnacle of the tower of London. And thus fell this worthy prince, the greateſt, though the laſt of the Britiſh blood, betrayed moſt baſely by the lords of Buelht, and being dead, moſt unworthily dealt with by the king of England; who, contrary to all precedents, treated a lawful prince like a traitor, and expoſed his crowned head to the deriſion of the multitude.

Not long after, David the prince's brother was delivered up by the Welch themſelves, and in a parliament for that purpoſe aſſembled at Shrewſbury, was condemned to die; his head to be ſent to accompany his brother's upon the tower of London, and his four quarters to the four cities of Briſtol, Northampton, York, and Wincheſter. Then the king for the eaſier keeping the Welch in due ſubjection, built two ſtrong caſtles in North Wales; the one at Conwey and the other at Caernarvon. There was none that now ſtood out beſides Rhys Fychan of Yſtratywy; and he finding David was gone, and himſelf like to do nothing to purpoſe, fairly yielded himſelf up to the Earl of Hereford, who by the king's orders committed him priſoner

priſoner to the tower of London; and ſo all the country of Wales became ever ſince ſubject to the crown of England.

The PRINCES of WALES of ENGLISH BLOOD.

PRINCE Lhewelyn and his brother David being ſo baſely taken off, and leaving no body to lay any ſpecious claim to the principality of Wales; King Edward by a ſtatute made at Ruthlan, incorporated and annexed it to the crown of England; conſtituting ſeveral new and wholeſome laws; as concerning the diviſion of Wales into ſeveral counties, the form and manner of writs and proceedings in trials, with many others not very unlike the laws and conſtitutions of the Engliſh nation. But all this could never win the affection of the Welch toward him; who by no means would own him as their ſovereign, unleſs he would condeſcend and agree to live and reign among them. They had not forgot the cruel oppreſſions and intolerable inſolencies of Engliſh officers; and therefore they flatly told him, they would never yield obedience to any other, than a prince of their own nation, of their own language, and whoſe life and converſation was ſpotleſs and unblameable. King Edward perceiving the Welch to be reſolute and inflexible, and abſolutely bent againſt any other prince, than one of their own country, happily thought of this politic, though dangerous expedient. Queen Eleanor was now quick with child, and ready to be delivered; and though the ſeaſon was very ſevere, it being the depth of winter, the king ſent for her from England, and removed her to Caernarvon caſtle, the place deſigned for her to lye in. When the

Anno 12. Edw. I.

time

time of her delivery was come, King Edward called to him all the barons and chief perſons throughout all Wales to Ruthlan, there to conſult about the publick good and ſafety of their country. And being informed that his queen was delivered of a ſon, he told the Welch nobility, that whereas they had oftentimes intreated him to appoint them a prince, he having at this time occaſion to depart out of the country, with their requeſt, upon condition they would allow of, would comply and obey him whom he ſhould name. The Welch readily agreed to the motion only with the ſame reſerve, that he ſhould appoint them a prince of their own nation. King Edward aſſured them, he would name ſuch an one as was born in Wales, could ſpeak no Engliſh, and whoſe life and converſation no body could ſtain; whom the Welch agreeing to own and obey, he named his own ſon Edward, but little before born in Caernarvon caſtle.

King Edward having by theſe means deluded the Welch, and reduced the whole country of Wales to his own devotion, began to reward his followers with other mens properties, and beſtowed whole lordſhips and towns in the midſt of the country upon Engliſh lords, among whom Henry Lacy Earl of Lincoln obtained the lordſhip of Denbigh; Reginald Grey, ſecond ſon to John Lord Grey of Wilton, the lordſhip of Ruthyn. This Henry Lacy was ſon to Edmund Lacy, the ſon of John Lacy, Lord of Halton Pomfret, and conſtable of Cheſter, who married Margaret the eldeſt daughter, and one of the heirs of Robert Quincy Earl of Lincoln. This Henry Lacy lord of Denbigh married the daughter and ſole heir of William Longſpear Earl of Saliſbury, by whom he had iſſue two ſons, Edmund and John, who both died young, one by a fall into a very deep well within the caſtle of Denbigh; and a daughter named Alicia, who was married to Thomas Plantagenet Earl of Lancaſter, who in right of his wife was Earl of Lincoln and Sarum, Lord of Denbigh, Halton Pomfret, and conſtable of Cheſter. After his death, King Edward

ward II. beſtowed the ſaid lordſhip of Denbigh upon Hugh Lord Spencer Earl of Wincheſter, upon whoſe deceaſe, King Edward III. gave it, together with many other lordſhips in the marches, to Roger Mortimer Earl of March, in performance of a promiſe he had made, whilſt he remained with his mother in France, that as ſoon as he ſhould come to the poſſeſſion of the crown of England, he would beſtow upon the ſaid Earl of March, to the value of a thouſand pound yearly in lands. But within few years after, Mortimer being attainted of high treaſon, King Edward beſtowed the ſaid lordſhip of Denbigh upon Montague Earl of Saliſbury; but it was quickly reſtored again to the Mortimers, in which houſe it continued, till the whole eſtate of the Earls of March, came with a daughter to the houſe of York, and ſo to the crown, Richard Duke of York, grandfather to Edward the fourth, having married the ſole daughter and heir of the houſe of the Mortimers. And ſo it continued in the crown to Queen Elizabeth's time, who in the ſixth year of her reign, beſtowed the ſaid lordſhip upon her great favourite Robert Earl of Leiceſter, who was then created Baron of Denbigh. After him it returned again to the crown, where it has continued to this preſent year 1696, when his preſent Majeſty granted a patent under the Great Seal to William Earl of Portland, for the lordſhips of Denbigh, Bromfield, and Yale. Some of the Welch repreſentatives, perceiving how far ſuch a grant encroached upon the properties and privileges of the ſubject, diſcloſed their grievances to the honourable Houſe of Commons, who after ſome conſideration, reſolved *(nemine contradicente)* that a petition ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty by the body of the whole Houſe, to requeſt him ro recall his grant to the ſaid Earl of Portland; which was accordingly done in the manner following:

May it pleaſe Your Moſt Excellent Majeſty,

WE Your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the knights, citizens, and burgeſſes in parliament aſſembled; humbly lay before Your Majeſty, That whereas there is a grant paſſing to William Earl of Portland, and his heirs, of the manors of Denbigh, Bromfield, and Yale, and divers other lands in the principality of Wales; together with ſeveral eſtates of inheritance, enjoyed by many of Your Majeſty's ſubjects by virtue of antient grants from the crown;

That the ſaid manors, with the large and extenſive royalties, powers, and juriſdictions to the ſame belonging, are of great concern to Your Majeſty and the crown of this realm: and that the ſame have been uſually annexed to the principality of Wales, and ſettled on the Princes of Wales for their ſupport: and that a great number of Your Majeſty's ſubjects, in thoſe parts, hold their eſtates by royal tenure, under great and valuable compoſitions, rents, royal payments, and ſervices to the crown and princes of Wales; and have by ſuch tenure great dependance on Your Majeſty and the crown of England; and have enjoyed great privileges and advantages with their eſtates, under ſuch tenure.

We therefore moſt humbly beſeech Your Majeſty, to put a ſtop to the paſſing this grant to the Earl of Portland, of the ſaid manors and lands; and that the ſame may not be diſpoſed from the crown, but by conſent of parliament: for that ſuch grant, is in diminution of the honour and intereſt of the crown, by placing in a ſubject, ſuch large and extenſive royalties, powers, and juriſdictions, which ought only to be in the crown; and will ſever that dependance, which ſo great a number of Your Majeſty's ſubjects in thoſe parts, have on Your Majeſty and the crown, by reaſon of their tenure; and may be to their great oppreſſion in thoſe rights which they have purchaſed, and hitherto enjoyed with their eſtates: and alſo, on occaſion

ſion of great vexation to many of Your Majeſty's ſubjects, who have long had the abſolute inheritance of ſeveral lands (comprehended in the ſaid grant to the Earl of Portland) by antient grants from the crown.

His MAJESTY's Anſwer.

Gentlemen,

I Have a kindneſs for my Lord Portland; which he has deſerved of Me, by long and faithful ſervices; but I ſhould not have given him theſe lands, if I had imagined the Houſe of Commons could have been concerned; I will therefore recall the grant, and find ſome other way of ſhewing My favour to him.

The lordſhip of Ruthyn continued in the poſſeſſion of the Greys, till the reign of Henry VII. when George Grey Earl of Kent, and Lord of Ruthyn, upon ſome bargain, paſſed the ſame over to the king, ſince which it has been in the poſſeſſion of ſome of the Earls of Warwick, and afterwards came to the Middletons of Chirk caſtle in the county of Denbigh, where it ſtill continues; being now enjoyed by the right worſhipful Sir Richard Middleton, baronet.

But beſides Henry Lacy and Reginald Grey, ſeveral other gentlemen of quality came at this time with King Edward to North Wales, who in ſome time became to be men of great poſſeſſions and ſway in the country, whoſe poſterity enjoy the ſame to this time. But he that expected to fare beſt in the diſtribution of theſe lordſhips and eſtates in Wales, was one Rhys ap Meredith a Welchman, and one that, contrary to the allegiance ſworn to his prince, and his duty to his native country, had ſerved the king of England, in all theſe wars, and done the greateſt hurt of any man to the intereſt of Prince Lhewelyn. For theſe great ſervices done to King Edward, Rhys expected no leſs than to be promoted

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to the higheſt preferments; whom the king after the Prince of Wales's overthrow firſt dubbed knight, and afterwards fed him with fair words and great promiſes.

But when he, and all his neighbours and countrymen had ſubmitted themſelves to the government of the king of England; it happened that the Lord Pain Tiptoſt, warden of the king's caſtles which joined to Rhys's country, and the Lord Alan Plucknet, the king's ſteward in Wales, cited Sir Rhys ap Meredith, with all the reſt of the country, to the king's court; which he refuſing to do, alledging his antient privileges and liberties, together with the king's promiſes to him, the aforeſaid officers proceeded againſt him according to law. Whereupon Sir Rhys being greatly A. D. 1289. vexed to be thus ſerved by thoſe whoſe intereſt he had all this while ſo warmly eſpouſed, thought to be revenged of Pain Tiptoſt, and the reſt of the Engliſh. And to that end, having drawn together ſome of his tenants and countrymen, he fell upon the ſaid Pain Tiptoſt; between whom ſeveral ſkirmiſhes afterwards happened, and ſeveral men were ſlain on both ſides. King Edward was now at Arragon to compoſe the differences betwixt the kings of Arragon and Naples; but being informed of the diſturbances which had happened in Wales, betwixt his miniſters there, and Sir Rhys ap Meredith; he wrote to his latter, requiring him to keep the peace, till his return; at what time he would redreſs all grievances, and reduce matters to a good and reaſonable order. But Sir Rhys having already waited ſufficiently upon the king's promiſes, and being now in a good condition to offend his enemies by force of arms, would not give over the enterprize he ſaw ſo promiſing, but marching with his forces to his enemies' lands, burnt and ſpoiled ſeveral towns belonging to the Engliſh. Upon this, the king ſent to the Earl of Cornwal, whom he had appointed his deputy during his abſence, to march with an army into Wales, to repreſs the inſolencies, and to prevent any farther diſorderly attempts of the Welch. The Earl accordingly pre-

pared an army and went againſt Sir Rhys's, whoſe army he quickly diſperſed, and overthrew his caſtle of Dreſolan, but not without the loſs of ſome of his chief men. For as they beſieged and undermined the ſaid caſtle, the walls unexpectedly fell down, by which unlucky accident, ſeveral of the Engliſh were oppreſſed and bruiſed to death, among whom were the Lord Strafford, and the Lord William de Monchency. But within a while after, Robert Tiptoſt Lord Deputy of Wales, raiſed a very powerful army againſt Sir Rhys, and after a ſlaughter of 4000 of the Welch, took him priſoner, who the Michaelmas following, at the king's going to Scotland, was condemned and executed at York.

A. D. 1293. But the death of Sir Rhys did not put a final period to all the quarrels betwixt the Engliſh and Welch, for in a ſhort time after, there happened a new occaſion for the Welch to murmur againſt, and upbraid the government of the Engliſh over them. King Edward was now in actual enmity and war with the king of France; for the carrying on of which, he wanted a liberal ſubſidy and ſupply from his ſubjects. This tax was with a great deal of paſſion and reluctancy levied in divers places of the kingdom, but more eſpecially in Wales, the Welch being never acquainted with ſuch large contributions before, vio-

1294. lently ſtormed and exclaimed againſt it. But not being ſatisfied with villifying the king's command, they took their own captain Roger de Puleſdon, who was appointed collector of the ſaid ſubſidy, and hanged him up, together with divers others who abetted the collecting of the tax. Then the Weſt Wales men choſe Maelgon Fychan for their captain, and ſo entering into Caermardhyn and Pembroke ſhires, they cruelly harraſſed all the lands that belonged to the Engliſh, and then returned laden with conſiderable booty. The Glamorganſhire men, and they towards the ſouth parts, choſe one Morgan for their leader and ſet upon the Earl of Gloceſter, whom they forced to make his eſcape out of the country; and ſo Morgan was put in poſſeſſion of thoſe lands which the anceſtors of the

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Earl of Gloceſter had forcibly taken away from Morgan's forefathers. On the other ſide, the North Wales men ſet up one Madoc related to the laſt Lhewelyn ſlain at Bueiht, who having drawn together a great number of men, came to Caernarvon, and ſetting upon the Engliſh who in great multitudes had then reſorted thither to a fair, ſlew a great many, and afterwards ſpoiled and ranſacked the whole town. King Edward being acquainted with theſe different inſurrections and rebellions in Wales, and deſirous to quell the pride and ſtubborneſs of the Welch, but moſt of all to revenge the death of his great favourite Roger de Puleſdon, recalled his brother Edmund Earl of Lancaſter, and Henry Lacy Earl of Lincoln and lord of Denbigh, who with a conſiderable army were ready to embark for Gaſcoign, and countermanded them into Wales. Being arrived there, they paſſed quietly forward, till they came to Denbigh, and as ſoon as they drew near unto the caſtle, upon St. Martin's day the Welch with great fury and courage faced them, and joining battle, forced them back with a very conſiderable loſs. Polydore Virgil ſays, (but upon what authority is not known) that the Welch obtained this victory rather upon the account that the Engliſh army was hired with ſuch money as had been wrongfully taken out of the abbies and other religious places, ſo that it was a judgment from above, more than the force of the Welch, that overcame the Engliſh army. But be the cauſe of it what it will, it is certain the Engliſh were vanquiſhed, upon which account King Edward came in perſon to Wales, and kept his Chriſtmas at Aberconwey, where Robert Winchelſey archbiſhop of Canterbury being returned from Rome, came to him, and having done homage, returned honourably again to England. But as the king advanced farther into the country, having but one part of his army with him, the Welch ſet upon and took moſt of his carriages, which contained a great quantity of victuals and proviſion, ſo that the king with all his followers were conſtrained to endure a great deal of hardſhips, in ſo much that at laſt water mixed with honey, and very

coarſe and ordinary bread with the ſalteſt meat, were accounted the greateſt delicacies for his Majeſty's own table. But their miſery was like to be greater, had not the other part of the army come in time, becauſe the Welch had encompaſſed the king round, in hopes to reduce him to the utmoſt diſtreſs, by reaſon that the water was ſo riſen, that the reſt of the army could not get to him. But the water within ſome time after abating, the remainder of the army came in, whereupon the Welch preſently retired, and made their eſcape. One thing is very remarkable of King Edward during his diſtreſs at Snowden, that when the army was reduced to very great extremity, a ſmall quantity of wine was found, which they thought to reſerve for the king's own uſe. But he to prevent any diſcontent, which might thereupon be raiſed in his ſoldiers abſolutely refuſed to taſte thereof, telling them, 'That in time of neceſſity all things ſhould be common, and as he was the cauſe and author of their diſtreſs, he would not be preferred before them in his diet.'

But whilſt the king remained in Snowden, the Earl of Warwick being informed that a great number of Welch were aſſembled, and had lodged themſelves in a certain valley betwixt two woods, choſe out a troop of horſe, together with ſome croſs-bows and archers, and ſet upon them in the night-time. The Welch being thus ſurpriſed and unexpectedly encompaſſed about by their enemies, made the beſt haſte they could to oppoſe them, and ſo pitching their ſpears in the ground, and directing the points towards their enemies, endeavoured by ſuch means to keep off the horſe. But the Earl of Warwick having ordered his battle ſo, as that between every two horſes there ſtood a croſs-bow, ſo gauled the Welch with the ſhot of the quarrels, that the ſpear-men fell apace, and then the horſe breaking eaſily in upon the reſt, bare them down with ſo great a ſlaughter, as the Welch had never received before. After this, King Edward to prevent any more rebellious attempts of the Welch,

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cut down all the woods in Wales, wherein, in any time of danger, they were wont to hide and ſave themſelves. And for a farther ſecurity, he repaired and fortified all the caſtles and places of ſtrength in Wales, and built the caſtle of Bewmoris in the iſle of Angleſey, and ſo having put all things in a ſettled poſture, and puniſhed thoſe that had been the occaſion of the death of Roger de Puleſdon, he returned with his army into England. But as ſoon as the king had left the Welch, Madoc, who, as it is ſaid before, was choſen captain by the North Wales men gathered ſome forces together, and came to Oſweſtry, which preſently yielded to him. And then meeting with the Lord Strange near Knookine, who with a detachment of the marchers came to oppoſe him, gave him battle, vanquiſhed his forces, and miſerably ravaged his country. The like ſucceſs he obtained a ſecond time againſt the marchers, but at laſt they brought together a very great number of men, and met Madoc marching towards Shrewſbury, upon the hills of Cefn Digolh, not far from Camrs caſtle, where after a bloody fight on both ſides, Madoc was taken priſoner, and his army vanquiſhed and put to flight. Then he was ſent to London, and there ſentenced to remain in perpetual impriſonment in the Tower, though others affirm, that Madoc was never taken, but that after ſeveral adventures and ſevere conflicts, whereby the Welch were reduced to great extremities, he came in and ſubmitted himſelf to the king, who received him upon condition he would not deſiſt to purſue Morgan captain of the Glamorganſhire men, till he brought him priſoner before him. Madoc having performed this, and the whole country being peaceable and undiſturbed, ſeveral hoſtages from the chiefeſt nobility of Wales for their orderly and quiet behaviour were delivered to the king, who diſpoſed of them into divers caſtles in England, where they continued in ſafe cuſtody till the end of the war, which was preſently commenced with Scotland.

In the 29th year of King Edward's reign, the prince of Wales came down to Cheſter, and received homage of all the freeholders in Wales as follows, Henry A. D. 1301.

Earl of Lancaſter for Monmouth; Reginald Gray for Ruthyn; Foulke Fitzwarren for his lands; the Lord William Martyn for his lands in Cemaes; Roger Mortimer for his lands in Wales; Henry Lacy Earl of Lincoln for Rhos and Rhyfoneioc; Robert Lord Montalt, for his lands, and Gruffydh Lord of Poole, for the lordſhip of Powys, at the ſame time paid their homage Tudor ap Grono of Angleſey, Madoc ap Tudor archdeacon of Angleſey, Eineon ap Howel of Caernarvon, Tudor ap Gruffydh, Lhewelyn ap Ednyfed, Gruffydh Fychan ſon of Gruffydh ap Iorwerth, Madoc Fychan Denglfield, Lhewelyn biſhop of St. Aſaph, and Richard de Puleſdon. This laſt in the twelfth year of King Edward was conſtituted ſheriff of Caernarvon for life, with the ſtipend of forty pounds ſterling yearly. At the ſame place, Gruffydh ap Tudor, Ithel Fychan, Ithel ap Blethyn, with many more did their homage. Then the prince came to Ruthlan, where the Lord Richard de Sutton Baron of Malpas, paid homage and fealty for the ſaid barony of Malpas. Thence the prince removed to Conwey, where Eineon biſhop of Bangor, and David abbot of Maynan did their homage; as did Lewis de Felton ſon of Richard Felton, for the lands which his father held of the prince in Maelor Saeſneg, or Engliſh Maelor. John Earl Warren ſwore homage for the lordſhips of Bromfield and Yale, and his lands in Hope-Dale, at London in the chapel of the Lord John de Kirkby ſometime biſhop of Ely; as alſo a while after, Edmund Mortimer for his lands of Cery and Cydewen.

But beſides all theſe, there paid homage to the prince of Wales at Cheſter, Sir Gruffydh Llwyd ſon of Rhys ap Gruffydh ap Ednyfed Fychan, a ſtout and a valiant gentleman, though not very fortunate, and as Florus ſays of Sertorius, he was *magnæ quidem, ſed calamitoſæ virtutis.* He was knighted by King Edward the Firſt, upon his bringing the firſt news of the queen's ſafe delivery of a ſon at Caernarvon caſtle, the king holding then a parliament at Ruthlan. This Sir Gruffydh continued for ſome time very gracious with

with the king of England, but obſerving at length the intolerable oppreſſion and tyranny exerciſed by the Engliſh officers, eſpecially by Sir Roger Mortimer Lord of Chirke and Juſtice of North Wales, towards his countrymen the Welch, became ſo far concerned and diſcontented with ſuch unwarrantable practices, that he preſently brake out into open rebellion againſt the Engliſh. And the better to effect what he purpoſed, he treated with Sir Edward Bruce brother to Robert then king of Scotland, who had conquered Ireland, to bring or ſend over ſome forces to aſſiſt him in his deſign againſt the Engliſh, upon which account he ſent him the following letter.

Nobili in Chriſto conqueſtori domino EDVARDO, illuſtriſſimo regi Hiberniæ, ſuus, ſi placet, GRIFFINUS LLWYD in North-Wall: reverentiam debitam in honore.

AUDITA nobis veſtri in terrarum conquiſitione fama egregia in partibus noſtris præcipue debelland. æmulos noſtros & veſtros, qui tam vos quam nos ab hæreditatibus vi injuſte expellendo deſtruxerunt, & nomen noſtrum memoriamque in terris delere conati fuerunt, ab initio ſupra modum applaudimus, ut merito debemus, omnes unanimiter in partibus noſtris, unde vobis ex parte Wallenſium nobilium ſignifico per præſentes, quod ſi ad Walliam cum hominibus veſtris dignemini venire, vel ſi vos in propria perſona accedere illuc non poteritis, aliquem nobilem Albanen. comitem, baronem vel miletem, cum paucis, ſi plurimi nequeant adeſſe, ad dictas partes noſtras volueritis mandare. Parati erimus omnes unanimiter . . . . . dicem eo quod nomen veſtrum celebre ubique publicetur expugnat; ſi quid Saxonibus in Albania, per illuſtrem regem fratrem veſtrum ultim. per vos in Hibernia, per vos & nos in Wallia ſtatum veſtrum priſtinum per Brutum conquiſitum recuperabimus, ipſiſque ſuppeditatis, con-

fuſis & diſperſis, Britannia juxta diſcretam veſtræ dominationis ordinationem inter Britones & Albaneos in poſterum diviſa cohæreditabitur. Valeat dominatio veſtra regia per cuncta ſæcula.

To this letter of Sir Gruffydh Llwyd's, Sir Edward Bruce returned the following anſwer.

OMNIBUS deſiderantibus a ſervitute liberari ſalutem in eo. Qui deſiderant in ſe releavat. & liberat. ab anguſtiis, temporibus opportunis, quia quilibet chriſtianus obligatur ſuo proximo in omni anguſtia ſubvenire, & præcipue illis qui ex una radice originis ſive parentelæ & patriæ primitus proceſſerunt, ideo compatientes veſtræ ſervituti & anguſtiæ, jam . . . . . Anglicana moleſtia indigenti decrevimus (auxiliante altiſſimo) veſtro gravamini occurrere, & innaturalem & barbaricam totis viribus Anglicanam de veſtris finibus expellere ſervitutem, ut ſic ſicut a principio Albanicus et Britannicus populus expulſis hoſtibus in perpetuum fiet unus. Et quia nullus inimicus faciliter relevatur libenter præcipimus, ſi jugum Anglicanum in tantum vos deprimit, quantum nuper depreſſerat populum Scotianum, ut ſic ex veſtro concordi conamine, & noſtro ſuperveniente (juvamine diſponente ſemper divino) poſitis jura veſtra & juſtitiam recuperare & proprietatem . . . . . hæreditatem pacifice poſſidere. Veruntamen dei cum omnia ſerviunt in iſto propoſito filium invocamus, quod non ex præſumptione & ambitione injuſti dominii talia attemptamus, ſed ex mera compaſſione effuſionis innocentis veſtri ſanguinis & ſubjectionis intollerabilis & ſignant: ad hoc quod vellemus inimicorum veſtrorum & noſtrorum vires reprimere, qui nec pacem nec concordiam deſiderant. Imo veſtram & noſtram finalem deſtructionem, ſicut a principio ingreſſionis eorum in Britanniam inceſſanter diebus ac noctibus molientur, & quia nullo modo eſt noſtræ conſcientiæ quemquam decipere, nec etiam decipi a quocunque, noſtram intentionem & propoſit. ſine tergiverſatione aliqua declaramus quod libenter ſciremus veſtram voluntatem, ſi rationem noſtri laboris

laboris & conaminis intuitu revelationis veſtræ acceptare decrement. nobis committere proſecutionem querelæ veſtræ & juſtitiæ nec non capitale dominium veſtri pro ut alius hactenus princeps veſter liberius habere conſuevit. Ita quod vos omnes & ſinguli cujuſcunque extiteritis conditionis priſtinis hæreditatibus, terris, libertatibus, poſſeſſionibus conſuetis, & omnibus conditionibus ad vos expectantibus integre & finaliter gaudeatis. Veſtram igitur voluntatem ſuper hiis & quibuſcunque aliis in quibus vos conſolari poterimus, ſi videatur expediens caute & celeriter nobis remandetis. Valete domini in domino.

But for all that theſe letters paſſed betwixt them whether by reaſon that Bruce's terms were conceived unreaſonable, nothing however was concluded upon, and the whole treaty came to nothing. But Sir Gruffydh, though without any hopes of aſſiſtance from the Scots, would not lay aſide what he had once undertaken, and therefore having gathered all the forces he could, deſperately ſet upon, and almoſt in an inſtant over-ran all North Wales and the Marches, ſeizing upon all the caſtles and ſtrong holds through the country. But all to no purpoſe, for as the moſt violent ſtream is quickly over, ſo Sir Gruffydh's army was preſently ſpent, and then being met with by a ſtrong detachment of Engliſh, his party was eaſily diſcomfited, and himſelf taken priſoner.

The ſame year being the 15th of the reign of King Edward the Second, his eldeſt ſon Edward born at Windſor, in a parliament holden at York, was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Aquitaine, and Earl of Cheſter. This prince ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of England, by the name of Edward the Third, one of the greateſt and moſt powerful monarchs that ever ſat upon the Engliſh throne. A. D. 1322.

Edward born at Woodſtock, eldeſt ſon and heir to King Edward the Third, was created prince of Wales, upon the 12th day of May in the 17th year of his father's reign, being then about fourteen years of age. 1343.

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He was a prince of incomparable qualifications, but ſo ſignally famous in martial affairs, that upon the account of the ſeveral actions he was engaged in, he received the name of Black Prince. He took John the French king priſoner at the battle of Poictiers, and ſhamefully vanquiſhed the French army in the battle of Creſſy. He did not live to enjoy the crown, but died one year before his father in the forty-ſixth year of his age; no prince was in his lifetime better beloved, and after his death more lamented by the Engliſh nation, who had he lived to ſit at the helm, no one doubted but that he would have exceeded as to all qualifications, the moſt glorious renown of the greateſt of his anceſtors.

In the time of Edward the Third, lived Sir Tudor Vaughan ap Grono, deſcended lineally from Ednyfed Vaughan, a perſon as to eſtate, power and intereſt, one of the chiefeſt in North Wales. Upon ſome motive, either of ambition or fancy, he aſſumed to himſelf the honour of knighthood, requiring all people to call and ſtile him Sir Tudor ap Grono, as if he did prognoſticate and foreſee, that out of his loins ſhould ariſe thoſe that ſhould have power to confer that honour. King Edward being informed of ſuch unparalleled preſumption, ſent for Sir Tudor, and aſked him, with what confidence he durſt invade his prerogative, by aſſuming the degree of knighthood, without his authority, Sir Tudor replied, That by the laws and conſtitution of King Arthur, he had the liberty of taking upon himſelf that title, in regard he had thoſe three qualifications, which whoſoever was endued with, could by thoſe laws claim the honour of a knight. Firſt, he was a gentleman. Second, he had a ſufficient eſtate. And thirdly, he was valiant and adventurous; adding this withal, If my valour and hardineſs be doubted of, lo, here I throw down my glove, and for due proof of my courage, I am ready to fight with any man, whatever he be. The king approving and liking well the man's forwardneſs and reſolution, was eaſily perſuaded to confirm the honour of knighthood upon him. From

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this Sir Tudor lineally deſcended Henry the Seventh, king of England, who was the ſon of Edmund Earl of Richmond, the ſon of Sir Owen Tudor, ſon to Meredith, the ſon of this Sir Tudor ap Grono.

After the death of the Black Prince, his ſon Richard born at Bourdeaux in France, being but ten years of age, was created prince of Wales at Havering at Boure, on the twentieth day of November, A. D. 1377. and in the fiftieth year of Edward the Third, his grandfather's reign, whom he ſucceeded in the crown of England.

Henry born at Monmouth, ſon and heir to Henry the Fourth, king of England, upon the fifteenth of October, in the firſt year of his father's reign, was created prince of Wales at Weſtminſter, who ſucceeded his father in the Engliſh crown by the name of Henry the Fifth.

Whilſt Richard the Second reigned, one Owen ap Gruffydh Fychan, deſcended of a younger ſon of Gruffydh ap Madoc Lord of Bromfield, was not a little famous. This Owen had his education in one of the Inns of Court, where he became barriſter at law, and afterwards in very great favour and credit ſerved King Richard, and continued with him at Flint Caſtle, till at length the king was taken by Henry Duke of Lancaſter. Betwixt this Owen and Reginald Lord Gray of Rhuthyn, there happened no ſmall difference touching a common lying between the lordſhip of Rhuthyn, whereof Reginald was owner, and the lordſhip of Glendowrdwy in the poſſeſſion of Owen, whence he borrowed the name of Glyndwr. During the reign of Richard the Second, Owen as being a courtier, and in no mean eſteem with the king, did overpower Reginald, who was neither ſo well befriended at court, nor beloved in the country as Owen was. But after King Richard's depoſal, the ſcene was altered, and Reginald as then better befriended than Owen, entered upon the common, which occaſioned Owen in the firſt year of Henry the Fourth to make his complaint in parliament againſt him, for thus diveſting him of his right. No redreſs being

being found, the biſhop of St. Aſaph wiſhed the lords to take care, that by thus ſlighting his complaint, they did not irritate and provoke the Welch to an inſurrection, to which ſome of the lords replied, That they did not fear thoſe raſcally barefooted people. Glyndwr therefore perceiving how his petition was ſlighted in parliament, and finding no other method to redreſs himſelf having ſeveral friends and followers, put himſelf in arms againſt Reginald, and meeting him in the field, overcame and took him priſoner, and ſpoiled his lordſhip of Rhuthyn. Upon this many reſorted to him from all parts of Wales, ſome thinking him to be in as great favour now, as in King Richard's days, others putting in his head, that now the time was come when the Britains by his means might again recover the honour and liberties of their anceſtors. But Reginald being thus kept priſoner, and very ſeverely handled by Owen, to terrify him into compliance with him in his rebellious actings, and not permitted to have his liberty, under ten thouſand marks for his ranſom, whereof ſix thouſand to be paid upon the feaſt of St. Martyn, in the fourth year of Henry the Fourth, and to deliver up his eldeſt ſon with ſome other perſons of quality as hoſtages for the remainder; the king at the humble ſuit of Reginald, ſeeing no other way for his enlargement, gave way thereto, authoriſing Sir William de Roos, Sir Richard de Grey, Sir William de Willoughby, Sir William le Zouche, Sir Hugh Huls, as alſo, John Harvey, William Vaus, John Lee, John Langford, Thomas Payne, and John Elneſtow, to treat with Owen and his council, and to conclude in what they ſhould conceive moſt expedient and neceſſary to be done for his redemption. Whereupon they conſenting to give the ſum demanded by Glyndwr for his deliverance, the king gave licence to Robert Braybroke biſhop of London, as alſo to Sir Gerard Braybroke the father, and Sir Gerard the ſon, then feoffees of divers lordſhips for this Reginald, to ſell the manor of Hertelegh in the county of Kent, towards the raiſing of that money. And for the better enabling him to pay ſo great

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a fine, the king was pleaſed to grant, that whereas it was enacted, that ſuch perſons who were owners of lands in Ireland, and did not there reſide, ſhould for ſuch their neglect, forfeit two parts of the profits of them to the king; that notwithſtanding this act, he ſhould forfeit nothing for non-reſidence there, during the term of ſix years next enſuing.

This good ſucceſs over the Lord Gray, together with the numerous reſort of the Welch to him, and the favourable interpretation of the prophecies of Merdhyn, which ſome conſtrued very advantageouſly, made the ſwelling mind of Glyndwr overflow its banks, and gave him ſome hopes of reſtoring this iſland back to the Britains. Wherefore he ſet upon the Earl of March, who met him with a numerous party of Herefordſhire men, but when they came to cloſe, the Welchmen proved too powerful, and having killed above a thouſand men of the Engliſh, they took the Earl of March priſoner. King Henry upon this was frequently requeſted to ranſom the Earl but to no purpoſe, for whether by reaſon that Mortimer had a juſter title to the crown than himſelf he being the next heir in blood after King Richard who was as yet living, or becauſe of ſome other private odium, the king would never hearken to his redemption, alledging that he wilfully threw himſelf into the hands of Glyndwr. But about the midſt of Auguſt, to correct the preſumptuous attempts of the Welch, the king went in perſon with a great army into Wales; but by reaſon of extraordinary exceſs of weather, which ſome attributed to the magic of Glyndwr, he was glad to return ſafe.

But the Earl of March perceiving that he was not like to obtain his liberty by King Henry's means, whether out of compliance, by reaſon of his tedious captivity, or affection to the young lady, he agreed to take part with Owen againſt the king of England, and to marry his daughter; with them joined the Earl of Worceſter, and his brother the Earl of Northumberland, with his ſon the valiant Lord Percy, who conſpiring to depoſe the king of England, in the houſe of the archdeacon of Bangor, by their deputies divided

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the realm amongſt them, cauſing a tripartite indenture to be made, and to be ſealed with every one's ſeal: by which covenant all that country lying betwixt the Severn and the Trent, ſouthward, was aſſigned to the Earl of March; all Wales, and the lands beyond the Severn, weſtward, were appointed to Glyndwr; and all from the Trent, northward to the Lord Percy. This was done (as ſome ſaid) through a fooliſh credit they gave to a vain prophecy, as though King Henry was the execrable moldwarp, and they three the dragon, the lion, and the wolf which ſhould pull him down, and diſtribute his kingdom among themſelves. After that they had exhibited articles of their grievances to King Henry, and divulged their reaſons for taking up arms; at length they marched with all their power towards Shrewſbury to fight the king, depending mainly upon the arrival of Glyndwr and his Welchmen. But the matter was gone ſo far, that whether he came in or no, they muſt fight, and ſo both armies being joined, the king's party prevailed, young Percy being ſlain upon the ſpot, and Douglas, beſides moſt of the Engliſh of quality, who with a party of Scotch had come to the aid of the confederates, was taken priſoner, but afterwards honourably ſet at liberty by the interceſſion of the prince of Wales. In the mean time the Earl of Northumberland was marching forward with a great party from the North, but the king having ſettled matters about Shrewſbury, coming to York, and ſending to him to lay down his arms, he voluntarily ſubmitted and diſmiſſed his forces. Then the king returning from Yorkſhire, determined to paſs over to North Wales, to chaſtiſe the preſumptuous practices of the immorigerous Welch, who after his departure from Shrewſbury, had made in-roads into the marches, and done much hurt to his Engliſh ſubjects. But other buſineſs of greater conſequence intervening, he detached his ſon the prince of Wales, who took the caſtle of Aberyſtwyth, which was quickly again retaken by Owen Glyndwr, who

who thruſt into it a ſtrong garriſon of Welch. But in the battle of Huſke fought upon the fifteenth of March, the Welch received a very conſiderable blow from the prince's men, Glyndwr's ſon being taken priſoner, beſides fifteen hundred more taken and ſlain. After this, we hear little of Glyndwr, excepting that he continued and perſiſted to vex and plague the Engliſh upon the marches, to the tenth year of King Henry's reign, when he miſerably ended his life; being as Hollingſhed reporteth towards his latter days driven to that extremity, that deſpairing of all comfort, he fled and lurked in caves and other the moſt ſolitary places, fearing to ſhew his face to any creature, till at length being ſtarved for hunger and lack of ſuſtenance, he miſerably ended his life. Hollinſh.

But theſe rebellious practices of Glyndwr, highly exaſperated King Henry againſt the Welch, inſomuch that ſeveral rigorous and unmerciful laws were enacted, relating to Wales, which in effect deſtroyed all the liberties of the Welch ſubject. They were made incapable of purchaſing any lands, or to be elected members of any county or borough, and to undertake any office, whether civil or military in any town incorporated. If any ſuit at law happened betwixt an Engliſhman and a Welchman, the former could not be convicted, but by the ſentence of an Engliſh judge, and the verdict of an Engliſh jury; beſides that any Engliſhman who married a Welchwoman was thereby forthwith diſfranchiſed from all the liberties of an Engliſh ſubject. It was further enacted, that no Welchman ſhould be in poſſeſſion of any caſtle, or other place of ſtrength, and that no victuals or armour ſhould be brought into Wales, without a ſpecial warrant from the king or his council; and farther, that no Welchman was capable of undertaking the office of juſtice, chamberlain, ſheriff or any other place of truſt in any part of Wales, notwithſtanding any patent or licenſe heretofore given to the contrary. Theſe, with many others moſt rigorous and unjuſt laws, particularly that forbidding

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any Welchman to bring up his children to learning, or to bind them apprentices to any trade or occupation, were enacted by the king againſt the Welch; ſo that nothing could cool his diſpleaſure, but that a whole nation ſhould be wrongfully oppreſſed, for the fault and miſcarriage of one perſon. But one might think, that this was no politic method to ſecure a nation in its allegiance, which upon lighter affronts was uſed to defend its privileges; and therefore we may well attribute the quiet diſpoſition of the Welch towards this time, to the moderation of Henry the Fifth, who within a little time ſucceeded his father in the crown of England.

Contemporary with Glyndwr was Sir David Gam, ſo called by reaſon he had but one eye, the ſon of Lhewelyn ap Howel Vaughan of Brecknock, by Mawd the daughter of Ieſan ap Rhys ap Ifor of Eluel. He was a great ſtickler for the Duke of Lancaſter, and for that reaſon became a mortal enemy to Glyndwr, who having his education as is ſaid before, at one of the Inns of Court, got to be preferred to the ſervice of King Richard the Second, who, as Walſingham, ſays, made him his *Scutifer*, or ſhield-bearer. But being informed that his maſter Richard was depoſed and murdered, and withal being provoked by ſeveral wrongs and affronts done him by his neighbour the Lord Gray of Rhuthyn, whom King Henry greatly countenanced, and looking upon Henry as an uſurper, he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed Prince of Wales. And for a better grace of the matter he feigned himſelf to be deſcended by a daughter from Lhewelyn ap Gruffydh the laſt prince; whereas in truth, he came paternally but from a younger brother of the houſe of Powys. But as ambition has no moderation, ſo Glyndwr for a time acted the part of a prince, and ſummoned a parliament to meet at Machynlleth, whither the nobility and gentry of Wales appeared, and among the reſt Sir David Gam, but not upon the ſame deſign with the reſt, having an intention in this

this meeting to murder Glyndyfwr. But the plot being diſcovered, and Sir David ſecured, he had liked to undergo preſent execution, had not Glyndyfwr's beſt friends, and the greateſt upholders of his cauſe, pleaded in his behalf, by whoſe interceſſion he was prevailed with to grant Sir David both his life and liberty upon condition he would ever after continue true and loyal to him. Sir David promiſed very loudly, but with the reſervation never to perform; for as ſoon as he came to his own country, where he was a perſon of very conſiderable ſway and intereſt, he did exceedingly annoy and moleſt thoſe that any way favoured or adhered to Glyndyfwr. While Sir David lay in priſon at Machynlleth, for his attempt againſt Owen's life, this Englyn was made upon him.

Dafydd Gam dryglam dreigl, iti yn wan frwydr,
Fradwr Riſſiart Bhrenin,
Llwyr y rhoes Diawl (hawn hwyl Flin
Y fath yſtad) ei fys ith Din.

i. e. David Gam thou wilt be a wanderer and an ill end will come to thee. Thou wilt be weak in battle, thou traitor to King Richard. So eagerly vexatious in thy ſtation that the devil wholly entered thy heart.

But Glyndyfwr receiving information how that Sir David Gam contrary to the promiſe he had made at his releaſement, endeavoured all he could to deſtroy his intereſt among the Welch, entered the marches, and among other tokens of his indignation, burned the houſe of Sir David, and as the report goes, calling to him one of Sir David's tenants, ſpake to him thus merrily in verſe;

O Gweli di wr côch Cam
Yn ymofyn y Girnigwen
Dywed ei bôd hi Tan y Lan
A nôd y glo ar ei Phenn.

i. e. If thou ſeeſt a red-haired, ſquint-eyed * man looking for the loſt ſheep, tell him ſhe is below the hill, and he may know her as ſhe is marked with fire.

But Sir David had the luck to eſcape his reach, and was conſtrained to retire to England, where he lived for the moſt part at court, till the death of Glyndyfwr.

When King Henry the Fifth went with an army to France againſt the French king, Sir David Gam brought into his ſervice a numerous party of ſtout and valourous Welchmen, who upon all occaſions expreſſed their courage and reſolution. In the battle of Agincourt, news being brought to the king that the French army was advancing towards him, and that they were exceeding numerous, he detached Captain Gam, to obſerve their motions, and to review their number. The Captain having narrowly eyed the French, found them twice to exceed the Engliſh, but not being in the leaſt daunted at ſuch a multitude, he returned to the king, who enquiring of him what the number of the French might be, he made anſwer, An't pleaſe you my liege, they are enough to be killed, enough to run away, and enough to be taken priſoners. King Henry was well pleaſed, and much encouraged with this reſolute and undaunted anſwer of Sir David's, whoſe tongue did not expreſs more valour than his hands performed. For in the heat of battle, the king's perſon being in danger, Sir David charged the enemy with that eagerneſs and maſculine bravery, that they were glad to

* *Squint-eyed* is *Gam* in Welch, from which he took his name, and his family continue it to this day, and all ſquint with one eye. Sir David Gam was the perſon who Shakeſpeare deſcribed in the character of Captain Fluellin.

give ground, and ſo ſecured the king, though with the loſs of much blood, and alſo his life, himſelf and his ſon-in-law Roger Vaughan, and his kinſman Walter Llwyd of Brecknock, having received their mortal wounds in that encounter. When the king heard of their condition, how that they were paſt all hopes of recovery, he came to them, and in recompence of their good ſervices, knighted them all three in the field, where they ſoon after died; and ſo ended the life, but not the fame of the ſignally valiant Sir David Gam.

Edward of Weſtminſter, the ſole iſſue of that unfortunate prince King Henry the Sixth, by Margaret the daughter of Rayner duke of Anjou, and titular king of Jeruſalem, Sicily, and Arragon; was created Prince of Wales, in a parliament held at Weſtminſter, on the fifteenth day of March, in the thirty-ſecond year of his father's reign. When the day was loſt at Tewkeſbury, this young prince thought to make his eſcape by flight, but being unfortunately taken, and brought to the preſence of King Edward the Fourth, who then ſat upon the helm, made ſuch reſolute and unexpected replies, that he put the king into ſuch a paſſion, that he ſmote him on the mouth with his gauntlet; and then his brother Richard the Crouchback, ran him into the heart with his dagger.

Edward, born in the Sanctuary at Weſtminſter, the eldeſt ſon of King Edward the Fourth, was, after his father's expulſion out of England, in the forty-ninth year of King Henry the Sixth, created Prince of Wales and Earl of Cheſter, in the eleventh year of his father's reign. Upon the death of Edward the Fourth, this young prince being then at Ludlow in the marches of Wales, was preſently ſent for to London, and proclaimed king of England, but never lived to be crowned; for his uncle Richard duke of Gloceſter, who was appointed his protector, moſt villainouſly made him away, together with his brother the duke of York; and afterwards was himſelf proclaimed and crowned king.

Edward the Fourth, in his wars againſt Henry the Sixth, was very much aſſiſted by the Welch; in recompence of which ſervice, he deſigned to reform matters ſo in Wales, as that intolerable oppreſſion which they had hitherto endured, ſhould be regulated and taken off. And to that end, he meant to eſtabliſh a court within the ſaid principality, and conſtituted John biſhop of Worceſter preſident of the prince's council in the marches; who, together with Anthony Earl of Rivers, ſat in the town-hall of Shrewſbury, and conſtituted certain ordinances for the public good and tranquility of that place. But the matter proceeded no farther; for the troubles and diſquietneſs of his kingdom, coming heavy upon him, and the ſhortneſs of his reign after his eſtabliſhment not permitting, he was forced to leave that to others, which himſelf thought once to bring about.

Edward, born at Middleham near Richmond in the county of York, the only ſon of King Richard the Third, was at ten years of age created by his father Prince of Wales, and died ſoon after.

Arthur, the eldeſt ſon of King Henry the Seventh, born at Wincheſter, was in the ſeventh year of his father's reign created Prince of Wales. About the fifteenth year of his age, being then newly married to Katherine the Infanta of Spain, he was ſent by his father into Wales, that by his preſence he might keep that country in better awe. With him King Henry ſent Dr. William Smith, afterwards made biſhop of Lincoln, as preſident of his council; together with Sir Richard Pool, his chamberlain, Sir Henry Vernon, Sir Richard Crofts, Sir David Philip, Sir William Udal, Sir Thomas Engleſield, Sir Peter Newton, and others, to be his counſellors and directors in his management of affairs. But the prince had not continued long there, but he fell ſick at his caſtle at Ludlow, of which indiſpoſition he ſhortly after died, and was buried with great ſolemnity in the cathedral church of Worceſter. But the creating of his brother Henry duke of York Prince of Wales in his ſtead,

Wokins p. 789.

ſtead, was deferred for about the ſpace of a month, to diſcover whether the Lady Katherine was with child by Prince Arthur. But when it appeared for certain, ſhe had not conceived; on the eighteenth day of February, in the nineteenth year of his father King Henry the Seventh's reign, Henry duke of York was created Prince of Wales.

King Henry the Seventh, being by his grandfather Owen Tudor deſcended out of Wales, and having ſufficiently experienced the affection of the Welch towards him; firſt of thoſe, who upon his firſt landing, opportunely joined him under Sir Rhys ap Thomas, and then of thoſe, who under the command of Sir William Stanley, Lord of Bromfield, Yale, and Chirkland, aided him in Boſworth-field; could not in honour and equity, but bear ſome regard to the miſerable ſtate and condition of the Welch, under the Engliſh government. And therefore this prudent prince, finding the calamities of the Welch to be inſupportable, and ſeeing what grievous and unmerciful laws were enacted againſt them by his predeceſſors, he took occaſion to redreſs and reform the ſame, and granted to the Welch a charter of liberty and immunity, whereby they were releaſed from the cruel oppreſſion, which ſince their ſubjection to the Engliſh government, they had moſt cruelly ſuſtained. And ſeeing the birth and quality of his grandfather Owen Tudor was called in queſtion, and that he was by many upbraided of being of a mean and ignoble parentage; King Henry directed a commiſſion to the abbot of Lhan Egweſt, Dr. Owen Pool canon of Hereford, and John King herald at arms, to make inquiſition concerning the pedigree of the ſaid Owen; who coming to Wales, made a diligent enquiry into this matter; and by the aſſiſtance of Sir John Leyaf, Guttyn Owen Bardh, Gruffydh ap Lhewelyn ap Efan Fychan, and others, in the conſultation of the Britiſh books of pedigrees, they drew up an exact genealogy of Owen Tudor, which upon their return they preſented to the king. Vide Appendix.

Edward, ſon to Henry the Eighth, by the Lady Jane Seymour, his third wife; was born at Hampton Court, on the twelfth of October; and upon the eighteenth of the ſaid month, was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwal, and Earl of Cheſter.

King Henry the Seventh, had already abrogated thoſe unreaſonable and intolerable laws, which the former kings of England, particularly Henry the Fourth, had made againſt the Welch; and now, King Henry the Eighth, willing to make a plenary reformation of what his father had wiſely begun, thought it neceſſary towards the good and tranquility of both nations, to make the Welch ſubject to the ſame laws, and the ſame government with the Engliſh. He underſtood that the uſual hoſtilities and depredations were ſtill continued and kept up by both ſides upon the borders; and though his father had eaſed the yoke of the Welch, yet he perceived, that it did contribute but little towards the diſannulling of that inveterate and implacable envy and animoſity which raged in the marches. Therefore to remedy this, otherwiſe unavoidable, diſtemper, he concluded that it was the only effectual method, to incorporate the Welch with the Engliſh, that they being ſubject to the ſame laws, might equally fear the vio-
A. D. 1536. lation of them. And accordingly, in the twenty-ſeventh year of his reign, an act of parliament paſſed to that purpoſe, which together with another act in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, made a plenary incorporation of the Welch with the Engliſh, which union has had that bleſſed effect, that it has diſpelled all thoſe unnatural differences which heretofore were ſo rife and irreconcilable.

When the Reformation was firſt eſtabliſhed in Wales, it was a mighty inconveniency to the vulgar people, ſuch as were unacquainted with the Engliſh tongue, that the bible was not tranſlated into their native language. Queen Elizabeth was quickly apprehenſive of the inconveniency which the Welch incurred, for the want of ſuch a tranſlation; and there-

fore

fore in the eighth year of her reign, an act of parliament was paſſed, whereby the biſhops of Hereford, St. David's, St. Aſaph, Bangor, and Landaff, were ordered to take care that the Bible containing the Old and New Teſtaments, with the Book of Common Prayer, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, be truly and exactly tranſlated into the Britiſh or Welch tongue, and that the ſame ſo tranſlated, being by them peruſed and approved, be printed to ſuch a number at leaſt; as that every cathedral, collegiate and pachurch and chapel-of-eaſe within the ſaid dioceſe where that tongue is vulgarly ſpoken, might be ſupplied before the firſt of March, anno 1566. And from that time forward, the Welch divine ſervice ſhould be uſed in the Britiſh tongue, in all places throughout thoſe dioceſſes, where the Welch is commonly ſpoke, after the ſame manner as it was uſed in the Engliſh tongue; and that the charge of procuring the ſaid Bible and Common Prayer, ſhould equally depend betwixt the parſon and the pariſh: the former being obliged to pay one half of the expence; and that the price of the book ſhould be ſet by the aforeſaid biſhops, or by three of them at the leaſt. But this act of parliament was not punctually obſerved; for the Old Teſtament was wholly omitted, and only the New, with the Book of Common Prayer and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, then tranſlated, which tranſlation was chiefly owing to Richard biſhop of St. David's, who was aſſiſted by William Saluſbury, a perfect critick in the Welch tongue, and one excellently converſant in all Britiſh antiquities. But in the year 1588, Dr. William Morgan, firſt biſhop of Landaff, and then of St. Aſaph, undertook the tranſlation of the whole Bible; and by the help of the biſhops of St. Aſaph and Bangor, Gabriel Goodman, dean of Weſtminſter, David Powel, D. D. Edmund Price archdeacon of Merionyth, and Richard Vaughan, he effectually finiſhed it. This was of ſingular profit and advantage to the Welch, to have the whole Scripture read and peruſed in their own native tongue; by which means they received a clearer demon- 1569.

demonſtration of the corruptions of the church of Rome, when they ſaw many of their principles apparently contradicting, and others not very firmly founded upon the Holy Scriptures. And on the other hand they perceived the neceſſity and advantage of the Reformation, they eaſily diſcovered that the whole doctrine of the church of England was ſound and orthodox, and that they were now happily delivered from that popiſh ſlavery which their forefathers ignorantly adored; and therefore being convinced of the truth of their religion, they became, and continued generally, very ſtrict adherents and firm obſervers of the doctrine and diſcipline of this church.

And here by the bye, I cannot but obſerve what a reverend writer has lately inſinuated, relating to the chriſtian religion planted in Wales. For that learned perſon in his funeral ſermon upon Mr. Gouge, would fain induce the world to believe, that chriſtianity was very corrupt and imperfect among the Welch, before it was purified by that, whom he terms apoſtolical man. Whereas it is notoriouſly evident, that ſince the Reformation was ſettled in that country, and the Bible, with the Book of Common Prayer, tranſlated into the Welch tongue, no place has been more exact, in keeping to the ſtrict rubrick and conſtitution of the Church of England, both as to the ſubſtance and form of worſhip. But what may more truly be attributed to Mr. Gouge, is that ſince his travels into Wales, and the propagating of his doctrine among the ignorant of that country, preſbytery, which before had ſcarce taken root, has daily increaſed, and grown to a head.

Henry, eldeſt ſon of King James the Firſt, being arrived to the age of ſeventeen years, was created prince of Wales, on the 30th of May, anno 1610, but he dying of a malignant fever, about two years after; his brother Charles being fifteen years of age, was created prince of Wales in his room, anno 1615. For joy of this new creation the town of Ludlow, and city of London, performed very great triumphs; and the

more

more to honour this ſolemnity, the king made twenty-five knights of the Bath, all lords' or barons' ſons; and the Inns of Court, to expreſs their joy, elected out of their body forty choice gentlemen, to perform ſolemn juſts and barriers.

Charles, eldeſt ſon of King Charles the Firſt, by Henrietta Maria, daughter to King Henry the Fourth of France, was born May 29, 1630, and afterwards created prince of Wales.

Since the happy incorporation of the Welch with the Engliſh, the hiſtory of both nations, as well as the people is united; and therefore I ſhall not repeat that which is ſo copiouſly and frequently delivered by the Engliſh hiſtorians; but ſhall conclude with Dr. Heylyn, 'That ſince the Welch have been incorporated with the Engliſh, they have ſhewed themſelves moſt loyal, hearty and affectionate ſubjects of the ſtate; cordially devoted to their king, and zealous in defence of their laws, liberties and religion, as well as any of the beſt of their fellow-ſubjects.'

APPENDIX

APPENDIX.

The return of a Commiſſion ſent into Wales by King Henry the Seventh, to ſearch out the Pedigrees of Owen Tudor.

HENRY the Seventh, king of England, &c. ſon of Edmund Earl of Richmond, ſon of Owen ap Meredith, and of Queen Catherine his wife, daughter to Charles the Sixth, king of France. This Owen was ſon of Meredith ap Tudor ap Gronw ap Tudor, ap Gronw, ap Ednyfed Fychan, baron of Brinfeingle in Denbigh-land, Lord of Kriceth, Chief Juſtice and chief of council to Lhewelyn ap Iorwerth Drwyndwn prince of all Wales. And in the time of Prince Llewelyn grew a variance between King John of England and the ſaid prince; whereupon Ednyfed came with the prince's hoſt, and men of war, and alſo a number of his own people, and met theſe Engliſh lords in a morning, at what time theſe Engliſh lords were hoſtied and ſlain; and immediately brought their heads, being yet bloody, to the ſaid Prince Llewelyn. The prince, ſeeing the ſame, cauſed Ednyfed Fychan, from thenceforth to bear in his arms or ſhield, three bloody heads in token of his victory, where he had born in his arms before a Saracen's head; and ſo ever

ever after this Ednyfed bore the ſaid arms, his ſon, and his ſon's ſon, unto the time of Tudor ap Gronw, ap Tudor ap Gronw, ap Ednyfed Fychan. And after this Ednyfed wedded one Gwenllian daughter to Rhys prince of South Wales, and had iſſue by her Gronw: which Ednyfed Fychan had in Wales divers goodly houſes, royally adorned with turrets and garrets; ſome in Angleſey, ſome other Caernarvonſhire, and ſome in Denbigh-land; but his chiefeſt manor-houſe was in the commot of Crythin in Caernarvonſhire, which was a royal palace, now decayed for want of reparations. Alſo he builded there a chapel in the worſhip of our lady, and had licenſe of the pope for evermore to ſing divine ſervice therein for his ſoul, and his anceſtors' and progenitors' ſouls always; and had authority to give his tythes and offerings to his chaplain there * ſtarving; which Ednyfed Fychan was ſon to Kyner ap Iers ap Gwgan, ap Marchudd, which was one of the fifteen tribes of North Wales, and ſon to Kynan ap Elfyn, ap Mor, ap Mynan, ap Iſbwis Newintyrche, ap Iſbwis ap Cadrod Calch Efynydd, Earl of Dunſtable and Lord of Northampton, ap Cywyd Cindion, ap Cynfelyn ap Arthuys, ap Morydd ap Cynnaw, ap Coel Godeboc king of Britain, of whom King Henry the Seventh deſcended lineally by iſſue-male, and is ſon to the ſaid Coel in the thirty-firſt degree, as it is approved by old chronicles in Wales. Which Coel was ſon of Tegfan ap Deheufraint, ap Tudbwyl, ap Urban, ap Gradd, ap Rhyfedel, ap Rhydeirne, ap Endigant, ap Endeyrn, ap Enid, ap Endos, ap Enddolaw, ap Afalach, ap Afflech, ap Beli mawr king of Britain, of whom King Henry the Seventh deſcendeth by iſſue-male, and is ſon to him in forty-one degree. Which Beli was ſon to Monnogon king, ap King Kaxor, ap King Pyr, ap King Sawl Benniſſel, ap Rhytherch king, ap Rydion king, ap Eidol king, ap Arthafel king, ap Seiſſilt king, ap Owen king, ap Caxho king, ap Bleuddyd king, ap Meirion king, ap Gwrguſt king, ap Elydno king, ap Clydawc king, ap Ithel king, ap Urien king,

* Vide an ſerving.

king, ap Andrew king, ap Kereni king, ap Porrex king, ap Coel king, ap Cadell king, ap Geraint king, ap Elidr king, ap Morydd king, ap Dan king, ap Seiſſilt king, ap Cyhelyn king, ap Gwrgan king (alias) Farſdrwch, ap Beli king, ap Dyfnwal king, ap Dodion king, ap Enyd, ap Kwrwyd, ap Cyrdon ap Dyfufarth Prydain, ap Aedd mawr, ap Antonius ap Seiſilt king, ap Rhegaw daughter and heir of King Lyr, and wife of Henwin prince of Cornwall. This Lyr was ſon of Bleuddyd, ap Rhunbaladr brâs, ap Lleon, ap Brutus darian lâs, ap Effroc Cadarn, ap Mymbyr, ap Madoc, ap Locrine, ap Brutus which inherited firſt this land, and after his name was called Britain, and had three ſons Locrine, Kamber, and Albanactus. Locrine the eldeſt, parted the iſle with his brethren, and kept half the land for himſelf, and called it Leogria. Kamber ſecond ſon had the land beyond Severn, and named it Kambria, in Engliſh, Wales. Albanactus had Scotland, which he then called Albania after his own name. Of which Brute King Henry the Seventh is lineally deſcended by iſſue-male, ſaving one woman, and is ſon to Brute in fiveſcore degrees.

How Owen grandſire to King Henry the Seventh, cometh of Beli mawr by Angharad, mother to Ednyfed by iſſue-female, by Gittin, Owen, and Sir John Leiaf's books.

THE mother of Ednyfed was Angharad, daughter of Hwfa, ap Cyner, ap Rhywallon, ap Dinged, ap Tudor Trefor, ap Mymbyr, ap Cadfarch, ap Gwrgenaw, ap Gwaethiawc, ap Bywyn, ap Biordderch, ap Gwriawn, ap Gwnnan, ap Gwnfiw frych, ap Cadell Dehurnlluc, ap Paſgan, ap Rhydwf, ap Rhudd Fedel frych, ap Cyndeirn, ap Gwrtheirn Gwrthenau, called in Engliſh Vortiger, by whom King Henry the Seventh, by the aforeſaid Angharad, mother to Ednyfed Fychan, and wife to Cyner ap Iers, ap Gwgon, is ſon to

to the ſaid Vortiger in thirty degrees. Which Vortiger was ſon to Rhydeyrn ap Deheufraint, ap Eidigant, ap Endeirn, ap Enid, ap Endos, ap Enddolau, ap Afallach, ap Afflech, ap Beli mawr, to whom King Henry the Seventh is ſon by Angharad, mother to Ednyfed Fychan in forty degrees.

How King Henry the Seventh cometh of Beli mawr by Gwenllian wife to Ednyfed Fychan, and daughter to the Lord Rhys, called Arglwydd Rhys, by iſſue-female.

Owen ap Meredith ap Tudor ap Gronw, ap Tudor, ap Gronw, ap Gwenllian, daughter to Rhys prince of South-Wales, ap Gruffydh prince, ap Rhys prince, ap Tudor mawr prince, ap Cadell prince, ap Rodri mawr, prince of all Wales. This Rodri had three ſons, and divided the principality of Wales between them in three parts; to Merfyn his firſt ſon, prince of North Wales, all North Wales, who died without iſſue; and Anarawd prince of Powys, and Cadell prince of South Wales, of whom King Henry the Seventh deſcendeth, by Gwenllian daughter to Prince Rhys, called Arglwydd Rhys, wife to Ednyfed Fychan; and the ſaid King Henry the Seventh is ſon to Rodri mawr in the ſeventeenth degree; which Rodri mawr was ſon to Merfyn firſt king of Man, which wedded Eſſilt daughter and heir to Cynan Dyndaethwy.

This Merfyn frych was ſon to Gwriad ap Elidur, ap Handdear Alcwn, ap Tegid, ap Gwiar, ap Dwywc, ap Llywarch hên, ap Elidur Lydanwin, ap Meirchion, ap Grwſt, ap Cenaw, ap Coel Godeboc king of Britain as before. This Coel was king of Britain and Earl of Colcheſter, a right worthy king, to whom King Henry the Seventh is ſon, by the ſaid Gwenllian wife to Ednyfed Fychan, in the thirty-firſt degree, by the ſaid Gittin Owen, and Sir John Leiaf's books.

How Owen Grandſire to King Henry the Seventh cometh of Beli mawr, by Eſſillt daughter to Cynan Dyndaethwy.

Owen ap Meredith ap Tudor ap Gronw, ap Tudor ap Gronw, ap Gwenllian daughter of Prince Rhys, ap Gruffydh ap Rhys, ap Tudor mawr, ap Engion, ap Owen, ap Howell Dda, ap Cadell, ap Rodri mawr, ap Eſſillt daughter of Cynan Dyndaethwy and heir, Prince of Wales, ap Rodri Moelwynoc, ap Idwal jwrch, ap Cadwalader Fendigaid King of all Britain, to whom King Henry the Seventh is ſon in the twenty ſecond degree. Cadwalader was ſon to Cadwallan King, ap Cadfan King, ap Iago, ap Beli, ap Rhun, ap Maelgwn Gwynedd King, ap Caſſwallan Lawhîr, ap Eineon irth, ap Cynnedda weledig, ap Edeirn, which wedded Gwawl, Ferch Coel Godeboc King, which Edeirn was ſon to Padarn Peiſrydd, ap Tegid, ap Iago, ap Genedawc, ap Cain, ap Gwrgain, ap Doli, ap Gwrtholi, ap Dufu, ap Gorddufu, ap Amwerid, ap Omwedd, ap Duve Brichwain, ap Owen, ap Affallach, ap Afflech, ap Beli mawr, to whom King Henry the Seventh is ſon by the ſaid Gwenllian in the fiftieth degree.

Owen ap Meredith ap Tudor ap Gronw, ap Tudor ap Gronw, ap Gwenllian, daughter to Arglwydd Rhys, ſon to Gwenllian daughter of Gruffydh Prince, ap Cynan Prince of North Wales, ſon of Iago Prince, ap Idwall Prince, ap Meuric Prince, ap Idwall Foel Prince, ap Anarawd Prince, ap Rodri mawr Prince of all Wales, to whom King Henry the Seventh is ſon by Gwenllian mother to the Arglwydd Rhys in the ſeventeenth degree.

Owen ap Meredith ap Tudor ap Gronw, ap Tudor, ap Gronw, ap Gwenllian, Ferch Arglwydd Rhys, ap Gwladis, Ferch Rhywallon ap Cynfyn Prince of Powys, and Angharad wife to Cynfyn, daughter and heir to Meredith Prince of Powys, ſon of Owen Prince of Powys and South-Wales, ſon to Cadell Prince there. Which Owen ap Howell Dda, had two ſons, Meredith and Eineon, and Owen their father gave the principality

principality of South Wales to Eineon his ſon, and the Principality of Powys to Meredith his other ſon. Which Meredith had iſſue Angharad, that wedded Cynfyn, by whom he was Prince of Powys, which Cadell was ſon to Rodri mawr Prince of all Wales, ſon to Merfyn frych, &c. to Beli mawr, as above written by Guttin Owen's book.

Owen ap Meredith ap Tudor ap Gronw, ap Tudor, ap Gronw, ap Gwenllian, Ferch Arglwydd Rhys, ap Gruffydh, ap Rhys, ap Tudor, ap Eineon, ap Howell Dda, ap Cadell, ap Angharad, wife to Rodri mawr, daughter to Meyric ap Dyfnwal, ap Arthen, ap Seiſſillt, ap Clydawc, ap Artholes, ap Arnothen, ap Brothan, ap Seirwell, ap Uſſa, ap Caredic, ap Cwnedda weledic, ap Edeirn, ap Padarn Peiſrydd, which Edeirn wedded Gwawl ferch Coel Godeboc, Mother to Cwnedda weledyc, &c.

How Owen cometh of Meuryc Lord of Gwent, by Morfydd's daughter, wife to Gronw ap Ednyfed Fychan.

Owen ap Meredith ap Tudor ap Gronw, ap Tudor, ap Morfydd, Ferch Meuryc L. of Gwent.

How Owen cometh of Rodri mawr, by Angharad, daughter to Ithel Fychan, ap Ithel Llwyd, and wife of Tudor ap Gronw, ap Ednyfed Fychan.

Owen ap Meredith ap Tudor ap Gronw, ap Angharad, ferch Ithel Fychan, ap Ithel Llwyd, ap Ithel Gam, ap Meredith ap Vchdrud, ap Edwin King of Tegengle in Flintſhire.

How Owen cometh of Rodri mawr by Adleis, wife to Ithel Fychan, daughter to Ricart.

Owen ap Meredith ap Tudor ap Gronw, ap Angharad Ferch Adleis wife to Ithel Fychan, daughter to Ricart, ap Cadwalader, ap Gruffydh, ap Kynan

Prince

Prince of North-Wales, ap Iago, ap Idwal Foel, ap Anarawd, ap Rodri Mawr, &c. all this by Gyttin Owen's book.

How Owen cometh of Beli Mawr by Gwerfill Ferch Madawc, o'r hen dwr, wife to Gronw ap Tudor, ap Gronw, ap Ednyfed Fychan.

Owen ap Meredith ap Tudor ap Gwerfill Ferch Madawc o'r hen dwr, ap Iers, ap Madawc, ap Meredith, ap Bleddyn, ap Kynfin prince of Powis, &c. and ſo to Beli Mawr.

How Owen cometh to Beli Mawr by the mother of the ſaid Gwerfill Ferch Madawc.

Owen ap Meredith, ap Tudor, ap Gwerfill Ferch Madawc o'r hen dwr, ap Lleucu Ferch Angharad, Ferch Meredith, ap Madawc, ap Gruffudh Maelor prince of Powis. This Madawc ap Gruffudh Maelor, built the abbey of Valacrucis, in Welch, Manachlog Llan Egweſtl, the year of our Lord 1200, and lieth there buried, and this Gruffudh Maelor was ſon to Madawc, ap Meredith, ap Bleddin, ap Cynfin, ap Gweriſtan, ap Gwalthfoed, ap Gwrydor, ap Cariadawc, ap Lles Llaw Ddeawc, ap Edwal, ap Gwnnan, ap Gwnnawc Farf Sych, ap Keidic, ap Corf, ap Cadnawc, ap Tegonwy, ap Teon, ap Gwinaf Daufreuddwyd, ap Powyr lew, ap Bywdec, ap Rhun rhudd baladr, ap Llary, ap Casfar Wledic, ap Lludd, ap Beli Mawr king of all England and Wales, to whom King Henry the Seventh is ſon this way by Ludd in thirty-ſix degrees.

How Owen cometh to Beli Mawr by the mother's ſide of Gwerfill Ferch Madawc.

Owen ap Meredith, ap Tudor, ap Gwerfill Ferch Eva, Ferch Llewelyn ap Gruffydh, ap Gwenwynwin, ap Owen Cyfeilioc, ap Gruffydh ap Madawc, ap

Meredith of Powis, ap Bleddyn, ap Cynfin, &c. to Beli Mawr.

Owen ap Meredith ap Tudor ap Gwerfill Ferch Eva, Ferch Margret, Ferch Meredith gôch, ap Meredith, ap Iers Fychan, ap Iers gôch, ap Meredith ap Bleddyn, ap Cynfin, &c. to Beli.

Owen ap Meredith ap Tudor, ap Gwerfyll, Ferch Eva, Ferch Margret, Ferch Meredith gôch, ap Chriſtin, ap Bledrws, ap Edwal Owen Bendew one of the fifteen tribes of North Wales, ſon to Cynan Fieniard ap Gwaithfoed, ap Gwlyddiên, ap Gwridor, ap Caradawc, ap Lles Llaw ddeawc, ap Edwal, ap Gwnnan, ap Gwannawc Farf ſych, ap Ceidio, ap Corf, ap Cadnawc, ap Tegonwy, ap Teon, ap Gwinan dau Freuddwyd, &c. and ſo to Beli.

Owen ap Meredith, ap Marget Ferch Tomas, ap Lhewelin, ap Owen ap Meredith Lord Iſcoed, ap Owen, ap Gruffydh, ap Rhys prince of South Wales, ſo to Rodri Mawr.

Owen ap Meredith, ap Margret, Ferch Tomas ap Llewelyn, ap Angharad, Ferch Arglwydd Sion, John of Haſſon by William ap David ap Gruffydh. Dubium.

Owen ap Meredith, ap Margret, Ferch Tomas ap Llewelyn, ap Angharad Ferch Margret, Ferch Philip, ap Iſor Lord Iſcoed by William ap Gruffydh. Dubium.

Owen ap Meredith, ap Margret, Ferch Tomas ap Llewelyn, ap Angharad, Ferch Margret, Ferch Angharad, Ferch Llewelyn ap Iers drwyndwn prince of all Wales. This Llewelyn wedded Inet daughter of King John, who was ſon to Henry the Second, ſon to Mawd the empreſs, daughter to Henry the Firſt, ſon to William the Conqueror, ſon to Robert duke of Normandy.

Owen ap Meredith, ap Margret, Ferch Tomas ap Elinor Ferch. . . . . Lord Barre by Gyttin Owen, by information of Dr. Owen Pool, and Mr. Lingam's wife by an old pedigree.

Owen

Owen ap Meredith, ap Margret, Ferch Tomas, ap Elinor, Ferch Elinor, Ferch Edward Longſhanks king of England.

Owen ap Meredith, ap Margret, Ferch Tomas ap Elinor Ferch Elinor, Ferch Elinor ſecond to King Edward aboveſaid. Dubium.

Owen ap Meredith, ap Margret, Ferch Elinor Ferch Meredith, ap Owen, ap Gruffydh, ap Rhys prince of South Wales, by Madawc ap Llewelyn ap Howel his books.

Owen ap Meredith, ap Margret, Ferch Elinor, Ferch Catrin, Ferch Llewelyn ap Gruffydh laſt prince of Wales.

Owen ap Meredith, ap Margret, Ferch Elinor, Ferch Llewelyn ap Gruffydh, ap Tangwiſtl, Ferch Llywarch gôch, ap Lhowarch ap Pyll, ap Cynan, ap Einion ap Gwridor gôch, ap Helic, ap Glannawc, ap Gwgon Gleddyfrudd, ap Cariadawc Freichfas, ap Llir Merini, ap Einion irth, ap Cunedda wledic.

Owen ap Meredith, ap Margret, Ferch Elinor, Ferch Caterin, Ferch Elinor ap Gruffydh ap Tangwiſtl, Ferch Tangwiſtl, Ferch Llowarch, ap Bran, ap Dinawal, ap Efnydd, ap Alawe, Alſer, ap Tudwal, ap Rodri mawr: ap Gyttin Owen.

Gwen ap Meredith, ap Margret, Ferch Elinor Fychan. Ferch Simon Montford earl of Leiceſter: by Gyttin Owen.

Owen ap Meredith, ap Margret, Ferch Elinor, Ferch Caterin, Ferch Elinor Fychan, Ferch Elenor, Ferch John king of England.

Hereafter followeth the ancient lineage of the ſaid Owen's mother Margaret wife to Meredith ap Tudor.

Owen ap Margret, Ferch Dafydd Fychan, ap Dafydd Llwyd, ap Cyner, ap Gronw, ap Cyner, ap Iers, ap Hwfa, ap Cwmus, ap Cillin, ap Maeloc dda, ap Gredef, ap Kwmus du, ap Cillin Ynad, ap Predur

Teirnee, ap Meilir Eryr, gwyr gorſedd, ap Tiday, ap Tyfodde, ap Gwybſyw, ap Marchwin, ap Branap Pill, ap Cerfyr, ap Meilir Meilirion, ap Goron, ap Cunedda wledic, ap Gwawl Ferch Coel Godeboc as before.

Owen ap Margret, Ferch Dafydd Fychan, ap Dafydd Llwyd, ap Ceyner, ap Gronw, ap Cyner, ap Iers, ap Hwfa, ap Generis Ferch Ednowain, Bendew, ap Cynon Finiaid, ap Gwarthfoed, ap Gwridr ap Cradoc, ap Lles llaw ddeuawc, ap Edwal, ap Gwynnan; and ſo to Ludd, ap Beli mawr, as before by Gyttin Owen.

Owen ap Margret, Ferch Dafydd Fychan, ap Dafydd Lhwyd ap Cyner, ap Llayſedd daughter to Sir William Twychet, knight, by William. Indub.

Owen ap Margret, Ferch Dafydd Fychan, ap Dafydd Lhwyd, ap Alis, Ferch Robert, ap Turſtan Holland captain of Harlech: by William.

Owen ap Margret, Ferch Dafydd Fychan, ap Dafydd Lhwyd, ap Alis, Ferch Margret, Ferch Alan Norris, knight, by William. Indub.

Owen ap Margret, Ferch Dafydd Fychan, ap Angharad, Ferch Howell ap Meredith, ap Iers, ap Cadwgan, ap Llywarch, ap Bran, as before, &c.

Owen ap Margaret, Ferch Dafydd Fychan, ap Angharad Ferch Howell ap Meredith, ap Iers, ap Gwenllian, Ferch Cynan ap Owen Gwynedd, ap Gruffydh ap Cynan, &c.

Owen ap Margret, Ferch Dafydd Fychan, ap Angharad, Ferch Owen ap Bleddin, ap Owen Brogennwn, ap Madawc, ap Meredith, ap Bleddin, ap Cynfin prince of Powis; theſe three by Gyttin Owen.

Owen ap Margret, Ferch Dafydd Fychan, ap Angharad, Ferch Gwladis, Ferch Llewelin gethni, ap Edwal, ap Gruffydh, ap Meuric, ap Cadhayarn, ap Gwrydd, ap Rhys goch one of the ſifteen tribes of North Wales; which was ſon to Sandwr ap Iarddwr, ap Mor, ap Tegerin, ap Aelaw, ap Gredres, ap Cwmus du, ap Cillin Ynad, &c. to Coel Godeboc.

Owen ap Margret, Ferch Dafydd Fychan, ap Angharad, Ferch Gwladus, Ferch Mali Llwyd, Ferch

Iers

lers ap Engion, ap Geraint, ap Tegwared, ap Cynfawr, ap Madawc diffaeth, which were rulers and great men in Pentraeth.

Owen ap Margret, Ferch Neſt, Ferch Jermy, ap Gruffydh, ap Howell, ap Meredith, ap Engion, ap Gwgon, ap Merwydd, ap Golwyn, one of the fifteen tribes of North Wales, ſon to Tangno, ap Cadfael, ap Lludd, ap Llen, ap Llaminod Angel, ap Paſgen, ap Urien Rheged, ap Meirchion, ap Grwſt, ap Cennaf, ap Coel Godeboc king as before,

Owen ap Margret, Ferch Neſt, Ferch Jermy, ap Gwerfill, Ferch Gwladus, Ferch Edwal Fychan as before.

Owen ap Margret, Ferch Neſt, Ferch Angharad, Ferch Gruffydh, ap Dafydd goch, ap Gruffydh, ap Llewelyn prince of Wales.

Owen ap Margret Ferch Neſt, Ferch Angharad, Ferch Gruffydh ap Dafydd goch, ap Dafydd, ap Gruffydh, ap Tangwiſtl, Ferch Llowarch goch, ap Llowarch Holbwrch, ap Pill, ap Cynan, ap Gwridor goch, ap Helic, ap Glannoc as before.

Owen ap Margret Ferch Neſt, Ferch Angharad, Ferch Gruffydh, ap Dafydd goch, ap Rhanullt, Ferch Rheinalt king of Man.

Owen ap Margret Ferch Neſt, Ferch Angharad, Ferch Gruffydh, ap Angharad, Ferch Heylyn, ap Tudor, ap Ednyfed Fychan.

Owen ap Margret Ferch Neſt, Ferch Angharad, Ferch Gruffydh, ap Angharad, Ferch Heylyn, ap Adleir, Ferch Ricart, ap Cadwalader, ap Gruffydh, ap Cynan prince. Theſe four by Gyttin Owen.

Owen ap Margret Ferch Neſt, Ferch Angharad, Ferch Gruffydh, ap Angharad, Ferch Heylyn, ap Adleis, Ferch Ricart, ap Cadwalader, ap Gruffydh, ap Cynan, ap Afandrec wife to Iago, daughter to Gwayr, ap Pill, ap Cynan, ap Cynddelw gam, ap Elgudi, ap Grwyſnad, ap Diwgludd, ap Tegawc, ap Cyfnerth, ap Madoc Madogion, ap Sauddl bryd Angel, ap Llylwarch hên, ap Elidor Ludanwin, ap Meirchon

irchion gûl, ap Erwſt galedlwm, ap Cenaw, ap Cole Godeboc king as before.

Owen ap Margret Ferch Neſt, Ferch Angharad, Ferch Marret, Ferch Tudor, ap Iers, ap Ewrgwnon, ap Cyſnerth, ap Rhuon, ap Nefydd hardd, one of the fifteen tribes of North Wales.

Owen ap Margret Ferch Neſt, Ferch Angharad, Ferch Margret, Ferch Tangwiſtl, Ferch Madawc, ap Cyfnerth, ap Cyhelyn, ap Llywarch Fychan, ap Llywarch gôch, ap Llowarch Holbwrch, ap Pill, ap Cynon, ap Gwrydr gôch, ap Helic ap Glannoc, ap Gwgon gleddyfrud, ap Cariadoc freich frâs, ap Glir Meirini, ap Engion yrth, ap Cynedda wledic, by Gyttin Owen.

Abſtracted out of the old Chronicles of Wales, by Sir John Leiaf, prieſt, Guttin Owen, Gruffydh ap Llewelyn ap Jermy, Fychan, Madawc ap Llewelyn ap Howell, Robert ap Howel ap Thomas, John King, with many others, at the King's Majeſty's coſts and charges. The abbot of Llanegweſtle, and Dr. Owen Pool, canon of Harf, overſeers.

APPENDIX.

Rex omnibus, &c.

SCIATIS quod cum Lewelinus princeps de Aberffraw & dominus Snawerden, nobis conceſſerit & firmiter promiſerit, quod ſtabit proviſioni venerabilium patrum Redulphi Ciceſtrenſis epiſcopi & cancellarii noſtri, & Alexandri Conventrenſis & Lichfield epiſcopi, & dilectorum & fidelium noſtrorum Richardi Mareſchalli comitis Pembroch, Joannis de Laſcy comitis Lincolniæ & conſtabularri Ceſtriæ, Stephani de Segrave Juſticiarii noſtri Angliæ, & Radulphi filii Nicholai Seneſchalli noſtri, una cum Idnevet Seneſchallo ipſius Lewelini & Werrenoc fratre ejus, Imano Vachan & David Clerico, quam ipſi facturi ſunt ſuper congruis emendis nobis faciendis, de omnibus exceſſibus nobis & noſtris, ab eo & ſuis factis & de reſtitutione nobis & hominibus noſtris faciendâ de omnibus terris & poſſeſſionibus noſtris & noſtrorum per ipſum Lewelinum & Wallenſes occupatis, occaſione Werræ inter nos & ipſum motæ; ſimul etiam de recipienda reſtitutione a nobis & noſtris, de omnibus terris ipſius Lewelini & hominum ſuorum per nos & noſtros occupatis, occaſione Werræ prædictæ, & de aſſignando David filio ipſius Lewelini & Iſabellæ uxori ejus primogenitæ filiæ & hæreredis. Gullielmi de Breus, rationabili portione ipſam Iſabellam contingente, de terris quæ fuerunt prædicti Gullielmi partis ſui, & de refuſione pecuniæ nobis, facienda, pro prædictis exceſſibus con-

grue emendandis & portione prædicta aſſignanda; proviſa tamen ſuper hoc ab eiſdem ſufficiente ſecuritate de fideli ſeruitio nobis præſtando & de tranquilitate nobis & regno noſtro Angliæ, obſervanda. Ita quod dampnum vel periculum, nec nobis nec regno noſtro inde poſſit evenire. Et ſi pendente proviſione prædicta, aliquid de novo emerſerit emandandum, idem Lewelinus voluerit & conceſſirit, quod per prædictos proviſores emendetur. Nos proviſionem eorundem quam facturi ſunt ſuper omnibus præmiſſis, gratam habemus & acceptam pro nobis, & noſtris ſicut præfatus Lewelinus pro ſe & ſuis & in hujus rei teſtimonium has literas patentes inde fieri fecimus. Teſte me ipſo apud Salop ſeptimo die Decembris & decimo ſeptimo anno regni noſtri.

Rex, &c.

LEWELINO principi de Aberfraw ſalutem. Sciatis quod recipimus in gratiam noſtram, Gilbertum Mareſchallum & omnes qui fuerunt impriſii Richardi Mareſchalli tam de Angliâ quam de Walliâ qui ad pacem noſtram venire voluerunt & eis reddidimus omnes terras & tenementa ſua quæ de nobis tenuerunt, & de quibus diſſeſſiti fuerunt occaſione guerræ motæ inter nos & prædictum comitem, & nobis remanent quieta quæcunque ſuper nos & noſtros per prædictum comitem, vel ſuos impriſios occupata fuerunt quæ vobis duximus ſignificanda. Volentes quod vobis innoteſcant quæ penes nos acta ſunt in hac parte, & quia per venerabilem patrem Edmundum Cantuarienſem archiepiſcopum & co-epiſcopos ſuos captæ ſunt treugæ inter nos & vos ſub firma ſpe tractandi de pace inter nos & vos formanda & fortius firmanda. Mittimus propter hoc prædictum archiepiſcopum & venerabiles patres Alexandrum Coventrenſem & Lichfieldenſem & Henricum Roffenſem co-epiſcopos ſuos ad partes marchiæ; ita quod erunt apud Salop die Lunæ in craſtino ſanctæ trinitatis;

trinitatis: et rogamus vos quatenus ſicut noſtram deſideratis amicitiam non omittatis quin in craſtino die Martis loco tuto & competenti, quem prædictus archiepiſcopus vobis ſignificabit ipſi archiepiſcopo & coepiſcopus ſuis occuratis ad tractatum cum eis habendum ſuper præmiſſis. In quorum etiam ore quædam quæ non duximus ſcripto commendanda poſuimus vobis plenius exponenda; rogantes quatinus ſicut decet taliter ea quæ reformationem pacis reſpiciunt & quæ ipſi plenius in hac parte vobis explicabunt audire cum effectu & eiſdem adquieſcere velitis, quod non ſtet per vos quin firmum & ſtabile pacis vinculum inter nos & vos roboretur ad noſtrum pariter & veſtrum commodum & honorem.

Rex, &c.

DILECTO & fideli ſuo Richardo comiti Cornubiæ & Pictaviæ ſalutem. Sciatis quod treugæ captæ ſunt inter nos & Lewelinum principem de Aberfraw per venerabilem patrem Edmundum archiepiſcopum Cantuarienſem & epiſcopos ſecum adjuntos & quoſdam alios fideles noſtros propter hoc ad partes Walliæ deſtinatos duraturæ a feſto Sancti Jacobi anno regni noſtri decimo octavo uſque in duos annos ſequentes in hac forma. Quod omnes injuriæ & damnæ hinc inde facta infra ultimam treugam captam per venerabilem patrem Henricum Roffenſem epiſcopum in media quadregiſſima proximo præterita per dictatores ejuſdem treugæ emendabuntur, quod omnes terræ hinc inde occupatæ per ultimam guerram motam, reſtituentur his quibus poſtea ſint oblatæ, homines etiam illi qui hinc inde receſſerint a fidelitate dominorum ſuorum & ſe tenuerunt ex parte adverſa libere revertantur. Ita quidem quod durantibus treugis prædictis in nullo occaſionabuntur nec aliquid dampni vel mali eis fiet occaſione prædicta. Adjectum eſt etiam in eadem proviſione treugarum; quod ſi vos & dilectus & fidelis noſter

noſter Radulphus de Thorny nolueritis ſub eiſdem treugis comprehendi bene placebit eidem Lewelino. Sin autem nihilominus, quod ad nos & alios fideles noſtros eas firmiter obſervabit. Et ſub tali conditione quod ſi forte tenere non velletis contra vos ſe defendet. Ita quod contra ipſum & defenſionem ſuam nullum vobis faciemus nec facere poterimus per nos vel per aliquem de marchia vel alium interim conſilium vel auxilium ad ipſum gravandum, & taliter ſunt treugæ prædictæ ex parte ipſius Lewelini juratæ & aſſecuratæ & in adventu prædicti archiepiſcopi ad nos ſimiliter ex parte noſtra eas jurari faciemus & aſſecurari, & ideo vobis mandamus firmiter injungentes, quatinus prædictis treugis ſine difficultate aliquâ adquieſcentes eas teneatis & ex parte veſtra eas teneri faciatis. Quia modis omnibus volumus quod eas teneatis & firmiter obſervetis. Quid autem inde facere propoſueritis aperte reſponſum veſtrum nobis ſub feſtinatione ſcire faciatis. Teſte rege apud Weſtmonaſterium triceſimo die Junii.

Radolphus Herefordenſis epiſcopus, decanus Herefordiæ, Walterus de Clifford & Walterus de Bello Campo iterum conſtituti ſunt dictatores emendarum, faciendarum & recipiendarum de interceptionibus factis, ut dicitur Lewelino principi de Aberfraw, &c. et Morganô de Carleon quoad caſtrum Carleon & eiſdem dictatoribus aſſociati ſunt prior de Wenloc & Joannes extraneus & debent convenire in craſtino clauſi Paſchæ apud vadum de Montgomery ad conſequendum quod priore die ad hoc conſtituto debuiſſet fuiſſe executum. Teſte rege apud Northamton ſexto die Martii.

REX

REX omnibus ad quod præſentes literæ pervenerint. Sciatis quod conceſſimus bona fide & ſine malo ingenio & ratas habemus et gratas treugas captas apud Theokſburiam die Veneris in feſto Sancti Benedicti, anno regni noſtri viceſimo per venerabilem patrem Edmundum Cantuarienſem archiepiſcopum inter nos et omnes homines et impriſios noſtros apertos ex una parte, et Lewelinum principem de Aberfraw et dominum de Snaudan et omnes homines et impriſios ſuos apertos tam Wallenſes quam alios ex alia parte duraturos a feſto Sancti Jacobi, anno eodem uſque in unum annum completum. Ita ſcilicet quod tam nos et noſtri quam prædictus Lewelinus et ſui ſimus in eiſdem terris et tenementis, hominibus et homagiis in quibus fuimus prædicto die captionis treugarum iſtarum. Salva Morgano de Carleon reſtitutione ſua tam de terris quam de bonis et mobilibus ſuis quæ comes Gilbertus Mareſchallus occuparerat, ſuper eum infra treugas alias inter nos et ipſum Lewelinum ultimo captas. Siquid autem interim fuerit foris factum per captionem terrarum vel caſtrorum vel bonorum mobilium et manifeſtum de captione terrarum vel caſtrorum illorum terræ; et caſtra ſtatim reddantur non expectata aliqua correctione emendatorum treugæ, ſed de bonis mobilibus ita captis per ipſos correctores fiant emendæ, treugis nihilominus durantibus in ſuâ firmitate in forma prædicta. Ita quod hinc inde nulla namia capiantur pro aliqua interceptione facta infra treugas iſtas de bonis mobilibus, nec pro aliqua contentione ante captionem hujus treugæ orta, ſed per ipſos correctores fiant. Nullus etiam receptet in poteſtate ſuâ impriſios alterius inde emendæ ſicut prædictum eſt durantibus treugis. Nullum etiam caſtrum novum firmetur in marchia vel dirutum reficiatur durantibus treugis, et terræ ſint communes ſecundum formam treugarum quæ ultimo captæ fuerunt inter nos et ipſum

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prædictorum

prædictorum episcopi de Sancto Asapho Idnevet, Ignan et Griffini, et parti penes ipsum David remanenti appositum est sigilum domini regis: his testibus venerabilibus patribus Ottone Sancti Nicolai in carcere Tulliano diacono, cardinali apostolicæ sedis legato; Waltero Eboracensi archiepiscopo, Waltero Careleolensi, Waltero Wygornensi et Gulielmo Norwicensi episcopis; Richardo comite Pictaviæ et Cornubiæ fratre domini regis, venerabili patre episcopo de Sancto Antando; seneschallis nostris Joanne extraneo. Edenyfet Watham, Griffino filio Rotherich, David archidiacon de Sancto Asaph et aliis.

Rex, &c.

DAVID filio Lewelini salutem. Bene recolimus qualiter nos vobis nuper in mandatis dedimus, quod coram nobis apud Wigorniam compareretis ad providendum arbitros qui loco eorum qui primo ad hoc electi fuerint et qui ad partes recesserunt transmarinas, justitiam secundum formam pacis inter et vos provise singulis conquerentibus exhiberent; et in arbitrio prædicto secundum formam debitam procederent et similiter ad justitiam recipiendam de portione uxorem vestram contingente de hæreditate suâ: et similitar ad standum recto super his de quibus seneschallus de monte alto et aliis de vobis sunt conquesti. Et quia ad diem et locum vobis præfixos non accessistis, sed literas vestras nobis misistis; continentes quod tres ex vestris ad nos loco vestro destinastis, ex quibus tantum unus ad nos accessit qui ad præmissa adimplenda nullam potestatem habuit; unde quibusdam ex nostris visum fuerat quod hoc malitiose et ut subterfugium quæreretis per vos factum fuit. Nos tamen hoc non credentes sed fidelitatem vestram adhuc magis probare volentes, vobis mandamus in fide qua nobis tenemini, præcipiendo quatinus omni occasione postposita personaliter

naliter compareatis apud Salop, die dominica ante dominicam palmarum coram fidelibus noſtris quos iiluc duxerimus tranſmittendos ad conſentiendum in perſonas certas, ad procedendum in arbitrio prædicto loco eorum qui ad partes tranſmarinas receſſerunt et ad faciendum in eodem arbitrio id quod adhuc reſtat faciendum; et ad recipiendum juſtitiam de portione uxorem veſtram de hæreditate ſua contingente et ad ſtandum recto ſeneſchallo Ceſtriæ et aliis de vobis conquerentibus, Quod ſi perſonaliter ad hoc faciendum venire non poſſitis tales loco veſtro mittatis qui plenam poteſtatem habeant hæc omnia nomine veſtro faciendi. Nos enim vobis et veſtris per eos quos ibidem mittimus aut per noſmet ipſos ſalvum et ſecurum provideri faciemus conductum. Teſte rege apud Wudeſtock decimo nono die Februarii.

Anno domini milleſimo ducenteſimo quadrageſimo primo, die dominica proxima ante inventionem ſanctæ crucis aſſignata, David filio Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ et marchionibus ad conſentiendum in arbitros ſuſtituendos loco abſentium et ad faciendam et recipiendam juſtitiam ſecundum formam pacis conventæ inter dominum regem et dictum David comparuit Thudius ſeneſchallus ipſius David, cancellarius et Phillippus filius Ibor clericus ex parte David procuratores; oſtendentes literas ipſius David, in quibus dictus David promittebat ſe ratum habiturum quicquid per ipſos fieret ſecundum formam pacis ſupradictæ. Radulphus vero de mortuo mari et Rogerus ſeneſchallus Ceſtriæ et Griffinus pro ſe et aliis marchionibus comparuerunt; petentes inſtanter quòd ſecundum dicta teſtium productorum coram domino Stephano de Segrave, et conjudicibus ſuis vicem domini regis gerentibus apud Salop eiſdem exhiberetur juſtitiæ complementum. Sed contra procuratores præfati David aſſerebant dictos reſtes non eſſe receptos ſecundum formam pacis. Quare ſecundum dicta eorum non dicebat nec poterat judicari. Tandam continuata die et altercatione magna ſuper hoc et aliis habitata inter

partes,

partes, forma pacis prædictæ producta in medio visaque et perfecta loco absentium arbitrorum scilicet domini Ottonis Sancti Nicholai in carcere Tulliano diaconi cardinalis, domini Papæ quondam legati in Anglia Wigornensis et Norwicensis episcoporum subrogati sunt per dominum regem de consensu dictorum procuratorum episcopus Coventrensis, Joannes filius Galfridi et Herebertus filius Matthæi, et Walterus de Clifford: quibus data est eadem potestas quam haberent absentes si præsentes essent secundum formam pacis prædictæ et assignata est dies partibus à die Pentecostes proximo in unum mensem apud pontem de Maneford ultra Salop ad probanda hinc inde sive per productos testes; non obstante productione jam facta per alios et quolibet probationis genere sive per instrumenta, sive alio modo quæ voluerunt et sibi noverint expedienda; et illa die dabitur alia ad judicium audiendum secundum probata coram eisdem arbitris juxta formam pacis superius prælibatæ.

Rex, &c.

DAVID filio Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ salutem. Ex certâ quorundam relatione didicimus quod vos contra juramentum nobis præstitum quosdam fratres Griffini filii Madoc et etiam quosdam homines nostros de Keri, qui homagia nobis fecerunt vobis confœderatis et ab obsequio et fidelitate nostra subtraxistis et fratres prædicti Griffini contra nos in terra vestra receptatis. Tres quidem de seneschallis vestris in succursum eorum qui expugnant dilectum et fidelem nostrum Radulphum de mortuo mari destinastis cædes et incendia per vos et vestros in terra sua et terris aliorum fidelium committendo, terras etiam quæ in curia nostra abjudicatæ fuerunt Oweno Vaghan et nepotibus suis, eis contra justitiam deforciatis, non permittentes quod executio fiat de his quæ in curia nostra

ſtra ſunt conſiderata. Quandam etiam navem Ceſtriæ quæ in poteſtate veſtra applicuit cartata blado et aliis victualibus areſtari feciſtis per vos et gentem veſtram, in nullo his quorum bladum et victualia fuerint inde ſatisfacientes ſuper quibus non modicum admiramur et movemur; et multo fortius quod cum nuper miſiſſemus nuntios veſtros ſolempnes uſque Salop, utpote venerabilem patrem Henricum Coventrenſem et Lichfieldenſem epiſcopum, et dilectos et fideles noſtros Joannem filium Galfridi, et Henricum de Aditheleg paratos ad emendas faciendas et recipiendas de interceptionibus factis, tam ex parte noſtra, quam ex parte veſtra, vos tanquam in contemptum noſtrum prædictis fidelibus noſtris non occurriſtis, nec per aliquos de veſtris in eorum occurſum mittere curâſtis, quod quidem ægre nos movet cum tot et tantas injurias quas longum eſſet enumerare contra nos et noſtros nullo modo attemptare debuiſtis: et ideo vobis mandamus quod prædictos fideles noſtros tam fratres prædicti Griffini quam homines noſtros de Keri quos a fidelitate noſtra ſubtruxiſtis ad fidem noſtram redire faciatis. Non impedientes quin prædictus Owenus Vaghan et nepotes ſui ſecundum abjudicatum eſt in curia noſtra terris ſuis gaudere poſſint et eas pacificè poſſidere. Id etiam quod contra dilectum et fidelem noſtrum Radulphum de mortuo mari et alios fideles noſtros et etiam quod de navi illa Ceſtrenſi attemptaſtis, ſic emendari faciatis; quod nobis non relinquatur materia injurias prædictas gravius ulciſcendi quod nollemus. Nec omitatis quin citra feſtum Sancti Petri ad vincula nobis ſignificetis qualiter dampna et injurias prædictas, quæ nullo modo diſſimulare poterimus nobis emendare volueritis. Teſte rege apud Merlebergh, quarto decimo die Julii.

Sciant præſentes et futuri quod ita convenit inter dominum Henricum regem Angliæ illuſtrem ex una parte et ſenanam uxorem Griffini filii Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ, quem David frater ejus tenet carceri mancipatum cum Owen filio ſuo nomine

ejuſdem Griffini ex altera; ſcilicet quod praedicta Senana manucepit pro praedicto Griffino viro ſuo quo dabit domino regi ſexcentas marcas, ut rex eum et praedictum Owen filium ſuum liberari faciat a carcere detineri. Et ut rex poſtea judicio Curiae ſuae ſecundum legem Walenſem ei et haeredibus ſuis habere faciat ſuper portione quae eum continget de haereditate quae fuit praedicti Lewelini patris ſui et quam praedictus David ipſi Griffino deforciavit. Ita ſi quod idem Griffinus vel haeredes ſui per conſiderationem curiae domini regis reciperent portionem quam ſe dicunt contingere de haereditate praedicta, eadem Senana manucepit pro praedicto Griffino et haeredibus ſuis quod ipſe et haeredes ſui imperpetuum inde reddent domino regi et haeredibus ſuis trecentas marcas annuas. Scilicet tertiam partem in denariis et tertiam partem in bobus et vaccis, et tertiam partem in equis per aeſtimationem legalium hominum liberandas vicecomiti Salop, apud Salop, et per manum ipſius vicecomitis ad ſaccarium regis deferendas et ibidem liberandas ſcilicet unam medietatem ad feſtum Sancti Michaelis et aliam medietatem ad paſcham. Eadem etiam Senana manucepit pro praedicto Griffino viro ſuo et haeredibus ſuis quod firmam pacem tenebunt cum praefato David ſuper portione quae eidem David remanebit de haereditate praedicta; manucepit etiam Senana pro praefato Griffino et haeredibus ſuis, quod ſi aliquis Walenſis aliquo tempore regi vel haeredibus ſuis rebellis extiterit, praefatus Griffinus et haeredes ſui ad cuſtum ſuum proprium ipſum compellent ad ſatisfaciendum domino regi et haeredibus ſuis. Et de his omnibus ſupradictis obſervandis, dicta Senana dabit domino regi David et Rothery filios ſuos obſides: Ita tamen quod ſi de praefato Griffino et Oweno filio ſuo qui cum eo eſt in carcere humanitus contingat antequam inde deliberentur; alter praedictorum filiorum eidem Senanae reddetur reliquo obſide remanente: juravit inſuper Senana tactis ſacro-ſanctis evangeliis pro ſe et praefato Griffino et haeredibus ſuis quod haec omnia firmiter obſervabunt. Et manucepit quod praefatus Griffinus

idem

idem jurabit cum à carcere liberatus fuerit, et ſuper praemiſſis ſe ſubmiſit nomine dicti Griffini juriſdictioni Herefordenſis et Conventrenſis epiſcoporum. Ita quod praefati epiſcopi, vel alter eorum quem dominus rex elegerit ad requiſitionem ipſius regis per ſententias excommunicationis in perſonas et interdicti in terras eorum coherceant ad omnia praedicta et ſingula obſervanda. Haec omnia manucepit praedicta Senana et bona fide promiſit ſe facturam et curaturam quod omnia impleantur, et quod praefatus Griffinus cum liberatus fuerit, et haeredes ſui hac omnia grata habebunt et complebunt et inſtrumentum ſuum inde dabunt domino regi in forma praedicta. Ad majorem ſiquidem hujus rei ſecuritatem factum eſt hoc ſcriptum inter ipſum dominum regem et praefatam Senanam nomine praefati Griffini viri ſui. Ita quod parti remanenti penes ipſum dominum regem appoſitum eſt ſigillum praefati Griffini per manum praefatae Senanae uxoris ſuae una cum ſigillo ipſius Senanae; et parti remanenti penes ipſam Senanam nomine praefati Griffini appoſitum eſt ſigillum ipſius domini regis: de ſupradictis etiam omnibus complendis et firmiter obſervandis dedit praedicta Senana nomine praefati Griffini domino regi plegios ſubſcriptos, viz. Radulphum de Mortuo Mari, Walterum de Clifford, Rogerum de Monte alto ſeneſcallum Ceſtriae, Mailgun filium Mailgwn, Mereduc filium Roberti, Griffinum filium Maddoc de Baunfeld, Howel et Mereduc fratres ejus, Griffinum filium Wennwen, qui haec omnia pro praefata Senana manuceperunt et cartas ſuas ipſi domino regi inde fecerunt. Actum apud Salop die Lunae proxima ante aſſumptionem beatae Mariae anno ipſius regis viceſimo quinto.

OMNIBUS hoc ſcriptum viſuris Rogerus de Monte Alto ſeneſchallus Ceſtriae ſalutem. Sciatis quod ego me conſtituti plegium Senanae uxoris Griffini filii Leolini quondam principis Norwalliae, et manu cepi

pro ea erga dominum meum Henricum regem Angliae illuſtrem, quod omnia quae conventionavit eidem domino meo nomine praefati viri ſui a carcere in quo David frater ejus eos detinet et pro portione quae ipſum Griffinum contingit de haereditate quae fuit praedicti Leolini patris ſuis et quam praefatus David frater ejus ei deforciat, domino regi firmiter obſervabit. In cujus rei teſtimonium huic ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui. Actum apud Salopeſbury die Lunae ante aſſumptionem Beatae Mariae, anno regni ipſius viceſimo quinto.

Sub eadem forma fecerunt ſinguli plegii præſcripti.

Sciant praeſentes et futuri quod ego Mereducus filius Howel, tactis ſacro-ſanctis juravi quod ab iſto die in antea omnibus diebus vitae meae ero ad fidelitatem domini regis Angliae, et ſerviam ei fideliter et devote cum omnibus viribus meis et toto poſſe meo quandocunque indiguerit ſervitio meo, et treugam inter dominum Radulphum de Mortuo Mari et me initam uſque ad feſtum S. Michaelis anno regni regis Henrici vigeſimo quinto ex parte mea fideliter obſervabo: et tam ad fidelitatem domino regi in perpetuum obſervandum quam ad treugas praedictas obſervandas uſque ad terminum praedictum ſuppoſui me juriſdictioni domini Hereford enſis epiſcopi, et domini Coventrenſis et Lichfieldenſis epiſcopi, vel alterius eorum, quem dominus rex ad hoc elegerit, ut ſi in aliquo contra praedictam fidelitatem domini regis, vel contra obſervantiam praedictarum treugarum venerit, liceat eis vel eorum alteri quem dominus rex ad hoc elegerit perſonam meam et omnes meos excommunicare et terram meam interdicere, donec de tranſgreſſione ipſam ſatisfecero ad plenum. Et ſi forſitan infra praedictum feſtum S. Michaeli inter praedictum Radulphum de Mortuo Mari et me nulla pax fuerit formata, licet poſt feſtum illud bellum moveant praedicto Radulpho, non obligabit me praedictum juramentum dum tamen erga dominum regem fidelitatem obſervam continuam, ſicut praedictum

praedictum est. Etsi bellum post praedictum terminum inter nos moveatur, nihilominus dominus resustinebit quod ego et mei receptemur in terra sua sicut alii fideles sui. Ad praedicta autem observanda domino regi et haeredibus suis obligo me per juramentum praedictum, et per sigilli mei appositionem quod huic scripto apposui, ad majorem confirmationem praedictorum. Actum in crastino assumptionis Beatae Mariae, anno regni regis Henrici vigesimo quinto.

Sub eisdem verbis fecerunt domino regi chartas suas, Owen filius Howell. Mailgon filius Mailgun. Mereduc filius Mereduc. Howel filius Cadwachlan, et Cadwachlan filius Howel.

OMNIBUS Christi fidelibus ad quos praesentes literae pervenerunt, David, filius Leolini, salutem. Sciatis quod concessi domino meo Henrico regi Angliae illustri filio domino Joannis regis: quod deliberabo Griffinum fratrem meum quem teneo incarceratum una cum filio suo primogenito et aliis qui occasione praedicti Griffini sunt in parte mea incarcerati, et ipsos eidem domino meo regi tradam. Et postea stabo juri curiae ipsius domini regis tam super eo, utrum idem Griffinus debeat teneri captus quam super portione terrae quae fuit praedicti Leolini patris mei, si qua ipsum Griffinum contingere debeat, secundam consuetidinem Walensium. Ita quod pax servetur inter me et praedictum Griffinum fratrem meum quod caveatur de ipsa tenenda secundum considerationem curiae ipsius domini regis, et quod tam ego quam praedictus Griffinus portiones nostras que nos contingent de praedictis terris tenebimus in capite de praedicto domino rege. Et quod reddam Rogero de Monte Alto seneschallo Cestriae terram suam de Monthaut cum pertinentiis: et sibi et aliis baronibus et fidelibus domini regis scisinas terrarum suarum occapatarum a tem-

pore belli orti inter ipſum dominum Johannem reg m et praedictum Leolinum patrem meum, ſalvo jure proprietatis cujuſlibet pacti et inſtrumenti ſuper quo ſtabitur juri hinc inde in curia ipſius domini regis: et quod reddam ipſi domino regi omnes expenſas quas ipſe et ſui fecerunt occaſione exercitus iſtius. Et quod ſatisfaciam de damnis et injuriis illatis ſibi et ſuis ſecundum conſiderationem praedictae curiae vel malefactores ipſos, ipſi domino regi reddam omnia homagia quae dominus Johannes rex pater ejus habuit, et quae dominus rex de jure habere debet; et ſpecialiter omnium nobilium Wallenſium. Et quod idem dominus rex non dimittit aliquem de ſuis captivis quin ipſi domino regi et ſuis remaneant ſeiſinae ſuae. Et quod terra de Enguſmere cum pertinentiis ſuis in perpetuum remanebit domino regi, vel haeredibus ſuis, et quod de caetero non receptabo vilagas vel foris banniatos ipſius domini regis, vel baronum ſuorum de marchia in terra mea, nec permittam receptari; et de omnibus articulis ſupradictis, et ſingulis firmiter et in perpetuum obſervandis, domino regi, et haeredibus ſuis, pro me et haeredibus meis cavebo per obſides et pignora et aliis modis quibus dominus rex dicere voluit vel dictate. Et in his et in omnibus aliis ſtabo voluntati, et mandatis ipſius domini regis et juri parebo omnibus in curia ſua. In cujus rei teſtimonium, praeſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appendi. Actum apud Atrieum juxta fluvium Elvey de S. Aſapho in feſto decollationis S. Johanni Baptiſtae, anno praedicti domi- regis Henrici vigeſimo quinto.

Sciendum quod illi qui capti detinentur cum praedicto Griffino, eodem modo tradentur domino regi donec per curiam ſuam conſideratum fuerit, utrum et quomodo debeant deliberari. Et ad omnia firmiter tenenda, ego David juravi ſuper crucem ſanctam quam coram me feci deportari. Venerabilis etiam pater Howelus epiſcopus de S. Aſaph ad petitionem meam firmiter promiſit in ordine ſuo, quod haec omnia praedicta faciet, et procurabit modis quibus poterit, obſervari. Ednevet ſiquidem Waugam per praeceptum meum, illud idem juravit ſuper crucem praedictam.

dictam. Actum ut ſupra. Præterea conceſſi pro me et hæredibus meis quod ſi ego, vel hæredes mei contra pacem domini regis, vel hæredium ſuorum, vel contra articulos prædictos, aliquid attentaverimus tota hæreditas noſtra domino regi, et hæredibus ſuis incurratur. De quibus omnibus et ſingulis ſuppoſui me, et hæredes meos, juriſdictioni archiepiſcopi Cantuarienſis, et epiſcoporum Londinenſis, Herefordenſis, et Coventrenſis, qui pro tempore præerunt, quod omnes, vel unus eorum quem dominus rex ad hoc elegerit, poſſit nos excommunicare, et terram noſtram interdicere, ſi aliquid contra prædicta attentaverimus. Et procuravi quod epiſcopi de Bangor et de S. Aſaph chartas ſuas domino regi fecerunt per quas conceſſerunt, quod omnes ſententias tum excomunicationis quam interdicti à prædictis archiepiſcopo, epiſcopis, vel aliquo eorum, ferendas, ad mandatum eorum exequentur.

Rex omnibus, &c.

DAVID filius Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ, Salutem. Noverint univerſitas veſtræ me ſpontanea voluntate mea pepegiſſe domino meo Henrico Dei gratia Angliæ, quod ego et hæredes mei eidem domino regi, et hæredibus ſuis omnibus diebus vitæ noſtræ conſtanter et fideliter ſerviemus, nec aliquo tempore contra eos erimus: quod ſi forte evenerit, quod à fideli ſervicio ſuo, vel hæredum ſuorum, quod abſit, receſſerimus, tota terra noſtra erga ipſum dominum regem et hæredes ſuos incurratur, et in uſus eorum perpetuis cedat temporibus. Hanc autem pactionem et conceſſionem ſigilli mei appoſitione roboravi, et ad majorem hujus rei declarationem venerabiles patres Bangorenſem, et de S. Aſaph epiſcopi, ad petitionem meam præſenti ſcripto ſigilla ſua appoſuerunt. Actum apud Rothetan tricesimo primo die Auguſti.

ILLUSTRI viro domino Henrico Dei gratia regi Anglorum, &c. abbates Haberconwiæ, et de Kemere Ciſtercienſis ordinis inquiſitores dati a domino Papâ, ſalutem in domino. Mandatum domini Papæ recipimus in hæc verba, 'Innocentius Epiſcopus, ſervus ſervorum Dei, dilectis filiis abbatibus de Haberconwiæ, & de Kemere Ciſtercienſis ordinis Bangorum dioceſis ſalutem et apoſtolicam benedictionem. Ex parte dilecti filii noſtri nobilis viri David principis Norwalliæ fuit propoſitum coram nobis, quod cum inter ipſum, quem parentes ejus in alumnum Romanæ eccleſiæ donaverunt, et chariſſimum in Chriſto filium noſtrum regem Anglorum illuſtrem bellum longo tempore perduraſſet, tandem poſtquam fuit in venerabilem fratrem noſtrum epiſcopum de S. Aſaph et collegas ipſius de ſtando hinc inde eorum arbitrio ſuper omnibus querelis juramento a partibus præſtito concorditer bonis viris mediantibus conpromiſſum. Idem rex, non attendens quod pendente illorum arbitrio, ſibi ſuper hoc aliquid attentare non licebit in prædictum principem ex inſperato hoſtiliter iruit ad præſtandum, quod ſuper prædictis de quibus conpromiſſum fuerit & juratum, ac aliis ipſius regis, mandare per vim computit, & metum qui cadere poterat in conſtantem.

Cum igitur ea quæ vi & metu fiant, carere debeant robore firmitatis, diſcretioni veſtræ per apoſtolica ſcripta mandamus, quatenus inquiſita ſuper hoc diligentius veritate, ſi rem inveneritis ita eſſe, auctoritate noſtra prædictum principem ab obſervatione ſic extorti juramenti penitus abſolventes, ſententia, ſi qua occaſione ejuſmodi in ejus perſonam, vel terram ab aliquo forſan tota fuerit, juxta formam eccleſiæ ſine difficultate qualibet, ſicut juſtum fuerit relaxetis. Teſtes vero, &c. Datum Januæ ſeptimo calendas Auguſti pontificatûs noſtri anno ſecundo. Hujus igitur autoritate muniti vobis mandamus quatenus in vigilia S. Agnetis Virginis, apud Keyrus in eccleſia Guſtefend coram vobis compareatis, ſuper contentis in autentico dicto principi reſponſuri, ſi vobis videritis expedire.

Iſti

Iſti ſunt ARTICULI intimati Domino LEOLINO Principi WALLIÆ, et populo ejuſdem loci, ex parte Archiepiſcopi ſupra dicti.

PRIMO, Quod propter ſalutem eorum ſpiritualem, et temporalem ad partes iſtas venimus, quas ſemper dileximus, ut plures eorum noverunt.

Secundo, Quia venimus contra domini regis voluntatem, cui etiam adventus noſter dicitur plurimum diſplicere.

Tertio, Quia rogamus eos et ſupplicamus eis pro ſanguine Jeſu Chriſti, quatenus venire velint ad unitatem cum gente Anglorum, et ad pacem domini regis, quam eis intendimus, quanto melius poterimus procurare.

Quarto, Volumus eos ſcire quod in his partibus domini non poterimus remanere.

Quinto, Volumus eos attendere quod poſt receſſum noſtrum non invenient aliquem, qui ita velit ſua amplecti negotia promovenda, qui vellemus, ſi placeret. Altiſſima vita noſtra temporali corporum pacem honeſtam et ſtabilem perpetuo procuraſſe.

Sexto, Quia ſi noſtras preces ſpreverint et labores, ſtatim intendimus eorum pertinaciam ſcribere ſummo pontifici et curiae Romanae, propter peccata mortalia, quae multiplicantur occaſione diſcordiae omni die.

Septimo, Noverint quod niſi citius ad pacem venerint aggravabitur eis bellum, quod non poterunt ſuſtinere, quia creſcit regia potentia omni die.

Octavo, Noverint quod regnum Angliae eſt ſub ſpeciali protectione ſedis apoſtolicae, et quod Romana curia plus inter regna caetera diligere conſuevit.

Nono,

Nono, Quod eadem curia nullo modo volet permittere ſtatum regni Angliae vacillare, quod ſibi ſpecialibus obſequiis eſt devotum.

Decimo, Amariſſimè plangimus hoc quod dicitur Wallenſes crudeliores exiſtere Saracenis; quia cum Saraceni capiunt Chriſtianos, eos ſervant pecunia redimendos, quos Wallenſes captos dicuntur illico jugulare quaſi ſolo ſanguine delectentur; immo quod eſt deterius, quos promittunt redimi, tradunt accepta pecunia jugulandos.

Undecimo, Quod cum conſueverit deum et perſonas eccleſiaſticas revereri, a devotione hominum videntur multipliciter receſſiſſe, qui in tempore ſanctiſſimo in redemptoris injuriam moverunt ſeditionem, homicidia et incendia perpetrantes, in quo eos nullus poterit excuſare.

Duodecimo, Petimus ut tanquam veri Chriſtiani ad cor redeant pœnitentes, quia cœptam diſcordiam non poſſent continuare etiam ſi juraſſent.

Tertiodecimo, Petimus ut nobis ſignificent quibus modis velint et valeant turbationem pacis regiae, laeſionem reipublicae, te mala alia emendare.

Quartodecimo, Ut ſignificent nobis qualiter valeat ipſa concordia ſtabiliri, fruſtra enim pax firmari videbitur quae tam aſſidue violatur.

Quintodecimo, Ut ſi dicant leges ſuas vel fœdera ex pacto inito non ſervari, nobis ſignificent quae ſunt illa.

Sextodecimo, Noverint quod etiam poſito quod eis derogatum fuiſſet, quod neſcimus, nullo modo licebit eis quaſi eſſent judices in cauſa ſuà taliter majeſtatem regiam impugnare.

Septimodecimo, Quod niſi modo pax fiat proceditur contra eos forſitan ex decreto militiae, ſacerdoti, et populi convocati.

Reveren-

REverendiſſimo patri in Chriſto domino J. de gratia cantuarienſi archiepiſcopo totius Angliæ primati, ſuus humilis et devotus filius Leolinus princeps Walliæ, dominus Snaudon, ſalutem et filialem dilectionem cum omnimoda reverentia, ſubjectione et honore, ſanctæ paternitati veſtræ pro labore vobis quaſi intolerabile quem aſſumpſiſtis ad præſens pro dilectione quam erga nos et noſtram nationem geritis, omni qua poſſumus devotione regratiantes vobis aſſurgimus; et eo amplius quod contra domini regis voluntatem veniſtis prout nobis intimaſtis. Cæterum quod nos rogaſtis ut ad pacem domini regis veniamus, ſcire debet veſtra ſanctitas quod ad hoc prompti ſumus, dummodo idem dominus rex pacem debitam et veram nobis et noſtris velit obſervare. Ad hoc licet gauderemus de mora veſtra facienda in Wallia, tamen per nos non eritis impediti quin pax fiat, quantum in nobis eſt, quam optamus per veſtram induſtriam magis quam alicujus alterius roborari. Et ſperamus nec per Dei gratiam erit opportunum propter noſtram pertinaciam aliquid ſcribere domino Papæ. Nec veſtras paternas preces ac graves labores ſpernemus, ſed eas amplectimur omni cordis affectu ut tenemur. Nec erit opus quod dominus rex aggravet contra nos manum, cum prompti ſumus ſibi obedire juribus noſtris et legibus nobis ut præmittatur reſervatis.

Et licet regnum Angliæ ſit Curiæ Romanæ ſpecialiter ſubjectum et dilectum, tamen cum dominus Papa, necnon et Curia Romana audiverint quanta nobis per Anglicos mala ſunt illata, videlicet quod pax prius formata non fuit nobis ſervata nec pacta; deinde devaſtationes, combuſtiones, et eccleſiaſticarum perſonarum interfectiones, ſacerdotum videlicet et incluſorum, et aliarum religioſarum perſonarum paſſim mulierum et infantium ſuggentium ubera et in utero portantium, combuſtiones etiam hoſpitalium et aliarum domorum religioſarum, homicidiorum in cœmiteriis, eccleſiis, et ſuper altaria, et aliorum ſacrilegiorum et flagiciorum auditu etiam horribilium, auditu Paganorum

rum ſicut expreſſius in aliis rotulis conſcripta vobis tranſmittimus inſpicienda.

Speramus imprimis, quod veſtra pia et ſancta paternitas clementer nobis compatietur, nec non et curia ſuper dicta, nec per nos regnum Angliæ vacillabit, dum, ut promiſſum eſt, pax debita nobis fiat et ſervetur. Qui vero ſanguinis effuſione delectantur manifeſtum eſt factis. Nam Anglici hactenus nulli ſexui vel ætati ſeu languori pepercerunt, nulla eccleſiæ vel loco ſacro detulerunt, qualia vel conſimilia Wallenſes non facerunt. Super eo autem quod unus redemptus fuit interfectus, multum dolemus, nec occiſorem manu tenemus, ſed in ſylvis uti latro vagatur. De eo vero quod inceperunt guerram aliqui in tempore indebito, illud ignoravimus uſque poſt factum, et tamen ipſi aſſerunt quod niſi eo tempore hoc feciſſent mortes et captiones eis imminebunt, nec audebunt in domibus reſidere, nec niſi armati incedere, et ſic præ timore tali tempore id fecerunt. De eis verò quæ fecimus contra dominum, ut veri chriſtiani per Dei gratiam pœnitebimus, nec erit ex parte noſtra quod bellum continuetur, dum ſumus indemnes ut debemus. Ne tamen exhæredemur et paſſim occidemur, oportet nos defendere ut valemus. Cum verò injuria et damna hinc inde conſiderentur et ponderentur parati ſumus emendare pro viribus quæ ex parte noſtra ſunt commiſſa, dum de prædictis injuriis et damnis nobis factis et aliis emenda nobis fiat. Et ad pacem firmandam et ſtabiliendam ſimiliter ſumus prompti debitis modis.

Quando tamen regales chartæ et pacta inita nobis non ſervatur, ſicut nec hucuſque ſunt obſervata, non poteſt pax ſtabiliri, nec quando novæ exactiones et inauditæ contra nos et noſtros omni die adveniunt. Vobis autem tranſmittimus in rotulis damna nobis illata et fœdera non ſervata ſecundum formam pacis prius factam. Quod verò guerravimus quaſi neceſſitas nos cogebat; nam nos et omnes Wallenſes eramus adeo oppreſſi et ſuppeditati et ſpoliati et in ſervitutem redacti per regales Juſticianos et Ballivos contra formam pacis et omnem juſticiam amplius quam ſi

Saraceni

Saraceni eſſemus vel Judæi, ſicut credimus et ſæpe denunciavimus domino regi, nec aliquam emendam habere potuimus. Sed ſemper mittebantur juſticiarii et ballivi ferociores et crudeliores, et quando illi erant faturati per ſuas injuſtas exactiones, alii de novo mittebantur and populum excoriandum in tantum quod populus mallebat mori quam vivere. Nec oportet militiam ampliorem convocare, vel contra nos moveri ſacerdotium dum nobis fiat pax et ſervetur modis debitis ut ſuperius eſt expreſſum. Nec debitis ſancte pater omnibus verbis credere noſtrorum adverſariorum; ſicut enim nos factis oppreſſerunt et opprimunt, ita et vobis diffamant, nobis imponentes quæ volunt.

Ipſi enim vobis ſunt præſentes et nos abſentes, ipſi opprimentes et nos oppreſſi. Et ideò propter Deum fidem eis in omnibus non exhibeatis, ſed facta potius examinetis. Valeat ſanctitas veſtre ad regimen eccleſiæ per tempora longa.

Primus Articulus eſt talis, cum in forma pacis ſic contineatur ut ſequitur. Si vero idem Leolinus jus vendicaverit in aliquibus terris quas alii præter dictum dominum regem occupaverint extra quatuor cantredos prædictos, pleniariam ſibi juſtitiam exhibebit præfatus dominus rex ſecundum leges et conſuetudines partium illarum in quibus terræ illæ conſiſtunt: qui articulus non fuit obſervatus ſuper terris Arwyſtley et inter Dyvy et ductus fluviorum, pro eo quod cum dominus Leolinus dictas terras vendicaſſet coram domino rege apud Ruthlan, et rex ſibi conceſſiſſet cauſam examinare ſecundum leges et conſuetudines Walliæ ac advocati pretium fuiſſent introducti coram rege ut judicarent de dictis terris ſecundum leges Wallicanas; parte rea comparente et reſpondente adeo quod eo die deberet finaliter terminari ex præfixione domini regis qui apud Gloverniam exiſtens diem prædictum partibus aſſignavit, licet ſæpius in diverſis locis coram juſticiariis fuiſſet dicta cauſa examinata, et terræ ipſæ eſſent in pura Wallia. Nec unquam judicata fuit ſuper eis niſi ſecundum leges Wallicanas; nec dominus rex poſſet

vel

vel deberet prorogare niſi ſecundum leges Walliæ: diem tamen ipſum motu proprio prorogavit et contra leges antedictas, et ad ultimo fuit vocatus ad loca varia ad quæ non debuit evocari, nec juſtitiam obtinere potuit, niſi ſecundum leges Angliæ contra illud quod in dicto articulo continetur. Et idem factum fuit coram juſticiariis apud Montgomery, cum partes eſſent in judicio conſtitutæ et firmatæ, et dies datus ad ſententiam audiendam, diem prorogaverunt leges memoratas. Demum apud Londinum poſt multos labores et expenſas varias rex ipſe juſtitiam ſibi denegavit, niſi vellet ſecundum leges Angliæ ſubire judicium in cauſa memorata.

Secundus articulus non ſervatus eſt talis. Et omnes tranſgreſſiones injuriæ et excelſus hinc inde factæ pœnitus remittuntur uſque in diem hodiernum. Iſte articulus non fuit obſervatus quia dominus Regnialdus de Grey ſtatim cum fuit factus juſticiarius, movit varias quæſtiones et innumerabiles contra homines de Tegengl, et nos ſuper tranſgreſſis quæ factæ fuerunt in tempore domini Henrici regis, et dicti domini Leolini dum dominum in partibus illis obtinebat unde dicti homines multum timentes non audebant in domibus ſuis permanere.

Tertius articulus, Ubi dictus Rys Vachan filius Nefi filii Maelgon cum terra quam nunc tenet et cum poſt pacem initam fuit ſpoliatus de terra de Geneverglyn, quam tunc tenebat cum hominibus et Averiis eorundem.

Quartus articulus, Item concedit dominus rex quod omnes terras tenentes in quatuor Cantredis, et in aliis terris quas dominus rex retinet in manu ſua, teneant eas adeo libere et pleniarie ſicut ante guerram tenere conſueverint, et eiſdem libertatibus et conſuetudinibus gaudeant quibus prius gaudere ſolebant, et cum contra iſtum articulum dictus Reginaldus conſuetudines varias de novo introduxit, et hoc contra pacis formam ſupradictam.

Item quintus articulus, Controverſiæ et contentiones motæ vel movendae inter principem et quoſcunque terminabantur et decidentur ſecundum leges

Marchiae

Marchiæ de his quæ emergunt in Marchia, et ſecundum leges Walliæ de rebus contentioſis quæ in Wallia orientur. Contra iſtum articulum venit dominus rex mittendo juſticiarios uſque ad Montgomery, qui ibidem judicare præſumpſerunt homines dicti Leolini, vindictum ponendo ſuper illos contra leges Walliæ, cum hoc vel aliud ſimile nunquam factum fuiſſet ibidem temporibus retroactis, quoſdam incarcerando, alios in exilium mittendo, cum ipſe idem princeps paratus eſſet de eiſdem hominibus ſuis exhibere juſtitiæ complementum omnibus quærelantibus de eiſdem.

Item ſextus articulus. Item cum ſit contentum in dicta pacis forma, quod Griffinus Vachan homagium faceret domino regi, de terra, de Yâl, et principi de terra de Edeyrnahu juſticiarii domini introduxerunt, in totam terram prædictam de Edeyrnahu cujus cognitio cauſæ ad principem pertinebat ſimpliciter, et non ad illos Juſticiarios; et tamen pro bono pacis princeps hoc tolerabat cum ipſe princeps paratus eſſet eidem dominæ ſuper hoc juſtitiam exhibere.

Septimus articulus, ubi dicitur et licet idem princeps ſe noſtræ ut dictum eſt ſuppoſuerit voluntati, nos tamen concedimus et volumus quod voluntas noſtra . . . . . ultra dictos articulos ſe in aliquo non extendant. Contra iſtum articulum exigebatur aurum ad opus reginæ in qualibet ſolutione facta regi cum . . . . . Aurum nunquam fuit exactum Wallenſibus, nec in tempore domini Henrici, vel alicujus alterius regis Angliæ; quod aurum exſolvit pro bono pacis, cum tamen nihil de hoc tactum fuit in forma pacis vel excogitatum: et nunc inſuper exigitur à principe aurum ad opus reginæ ſenioris matris videlicet domini Edvardi nunc regis Angliæ, pro pace facta in tempore domini Henrici nunc regis Angliæ, cum nihil de hoc tunc fuerat dictum vel quoquomodo excogitatum, videlicet duo millia Marcarum et dimidium, et niſi dictæ Marcæ ſolverentur, minabatur dicta regina quod bona ejuſdem Leolini occuparet quæ invenire poterat in domino regis, et

homines ſuos capere vel venundare quouſque dictam ſummam haberet ad plenum. Item cum invitâſſet dominus rex dictum principem adfectum Wiggornienſem verbis blandiſſimis promittendo ei quod daret tunc conſanguineam ſuam ſibi in uxorem, et multis ditaret honoribus; nihilominus cum illuc veniſſet in die deſponſationis, ante miſſam petiit dominus rex unam literam conſignari à principe continentem inter cætera, quod idem princeps nullum omnino honorem in terra ſua teneret contra regis voluntatem, vel manu teneret ex quo poſſit contingere quod omnes fideles principis ab eo commoverentur. Quam quidem literam ſibi ſigillatam tradidit, computans per metum qui cadere poſſet in conſtantem virum, cum tamen in forma pacis, ut præmiſſum eſt, contineatur quod nihil ab eo deberet exigi, ultra quod in dicta forma continetur.

Item, cum ſecundum eandem pacis formam conſuetudines eidem principi confirmentur quibus uſus fuerat ab antiquo; ac idem princeps et anteceſſores ſui, ex conſuetudine diutina et obtenta bona de naufragis in terris ſuis provenientia conſueverant recipere, et in ſuos uſus convertere ad libitum: Juſticiarius Ceſtrenſis namium recepit ſuper principem pro bonis quæ recepit de naufragiis ante guerram contra dictam pacis formam per quam hinc inde erant remiſſa, et contra conſuetudines ante dictas. Dato etiam quod hoc eſſet foris factum namium recepit tale, videlicet quindecem libratas mellis et plures equos ac homines ſuos incarceravit, et hoc ex propriis bonis principis antedicti. Preterea, accipit ſcaphas de Banweys quæ venerant apud Liverpol cum mercandiis per mercatores, et eas numquam deliberavit donec pecuniam pro eis accepit quantum volebat.

Item, cum quidam homines de Geneurglyn quædam bona abſtuliſſent ab aliis vicinis ſuis de Geneurglyn, dum eſſent in domino principis de Merpyreton homines regis de Llanbadarn prædam fecerunt, et acceperunt de terra principis de Merpyreton, et cum homines ſui veniſſent illuc ad quærendum quare dictam prædam receperant, unum de eis interfecerunt, et

alios

alios vulneraverunt, & quoſdam incarceraverunt. Et cum in dicta pacis forma contineatur quod in marchia deberent emendari quæ in Marchia committebantur, tamen dicti homines regis homines principis audire noluerunt alibi quam in caſtro de Llanbadarn, & hoc contra pacis formam antedictam, ſuper quo hactenus nullam juſtitiam habere potuerunt. In iſtis articulis injuriatus dominus rex principi & ſuis, & etiam in multis aliis: et licet princeps tam per ſe quam per ſuos petiviſſet ſæpius a domino rege quod pacis formam ſupradictam erga ſe & ſuos faceret obſervari, in nullo tamen extitit obſervata ſed omni die de novo juſticiarii & ballivi domini regis in partibus illis injurias injuriis, & varia gravimina cumulaverunt: propter quod mirum non debet videri alicui ſi princeps præfatus aſſenſum præſtitit illis qui guerrare cœperunt, cum in his fides quam in animam domini regis ſibi dominus Robertus Tibetot juraverat in nullo ſervabatur, & maxima & principaliter cum princeps fuiſſer præmunitus a perſonis fide dignis quod princeps foret a rege capiendus in ſuo primo acceſſu apud Ruthlan, & etiam fuiſſet captus ſi rex illuc acceſſiſſet poſt Natale ſicut propoſuerat.

Nec gravamina & alia quaſi innumerabilia, ſancte pater, conſiderantes, nobis affectu paterno compaciamini, et pro ſalute animæ domini regis, et noſtræ, et etiam multorum aliorum, ad pacem bonam utriuſque populi laboretis fructuoſè.

Cum dominus David primo veniſſet ad dominum Edwardum tunc comitem Ceſtriæ, ac homagium ſibi feciſſet, idem dominus Edwardus eidem Davidi duas cantredas, videlicet de dyffryn-Clwyd et Cywonant cum omnibus ſuis pertinentiis dedit plenarie, et literas ſuas patentes ſuper hoc fieri fecit, tandem etiam donationem eidem invocavit, poſtquam creatus eſt in regem, et etiam illum Davidem in poſſeſſionem illarum cantredarum induxit corporalem.

Demum domina Gwenlhian de Lacy mortua, tres villas quas in dictis cantredis tenuit quoad vitam quæ ad ipſum Davidem ſpectabant ratione donationis ſu-

prædictæ dominus rex ſibi abſtulit minus juſte contra tenorem chartæ ſuæ.

Item, Cum dictus David ex donatione domini regis prædicti villas de Hope et Eſton obtineret in Wallia, de quibus nulli reſpondere tenebatur niſi ſecundum leges Wallicanas; tandem juſticiarius Ceſtrienſis fecit ipſum ad inſtantiam cujuſdam Anglici Willh. de Vanabel nomine ad comitatum Ceſtrienſem ſuper dictis vilulis ad judicium evocari. Et licet dictus dominus David petiviſſet multoties quod injurioſe contra eundem non procederetur in dicto comitatu, pro eo quod ibidem reſpondere nullatenus tenebatur ſuper villis prædictis quæ ſitæ erant in Wallia, ſed potius tractaretur, hoc ſibi plene denegavit.

Item, Idem juſticiarius Ceſtrienſis in gravamen dicti domini Davidis nemus ſuum de Lleweni et Sylvas ſuas de Hope fecit ſuccidi tam per villanos de Ruthlan, quam per alios, cum idem juſticiarius in terris prædicti domini Davidis nullam omnino haberet juriſdictionem, et non contenti quod meremium ibidem quærerent ad ædificia exigenda tam apud Rodelanum quam alibi in patria, ſed nemus deſtruendo meremium ibidem ſectum ad vendendum in Hiberniam tranſtulerunt.

Item, Cum idem dominus David quoſdam Fortanicos de terra domini regis qui in nemoribus latitabant cepiſſet, ac ſuſpendio tradidiſſet, idem tamen juſticiarius ipſum Davidem penes regem accuſabat, ac ſi ipſe dictos malefactores defenderet et manuteneret, quod veriſimile non erat cum ipſe David dictos latrones ſuſpendi faceret et occidi.

Item, Cum eſſet cautum in forma pacis quod Wallenſes deberent in cauſis ſuis tractari ſecundum leges Wallicanas, iſtud tamen circa dictum Davidem et ſuos homines in nullo extitit obſervatum.

De premiſſis vero gravaminibus et aliis petiit idem David aliquam emendationem vel ſecundum leges Walliæ, vel conſuetudines, vel etiam ex gratia ſpeciali; et hoc etiam petiit a domino rege, quorum neutrum potuit aliquatenus obtinere: et cum hoc præmunitus fuit a quibuſdam a curia domini regis, quod in primo

regreſſu

regreſſu domini Reginaldi de Gray de curia idem David eſſet capiendus ut filii ſui capiendi pro obſedibu eſſet, inſuper ſpoliandus caſtro ſuo de Hope, et etiam ſylva ſua ibidem ſuccidenda. Ideo cum idem David multum laboraſſet pro domino rege prædicto in diverſis guerris tam in Anglia quam in Wallia, et expoſuiſſet ſe et ſuos variis periculis et injuriis, ac amiſiſſet nobiliores de ſuis et fortiores, ac multos nimis, nihilominus de dictis graviminibus et aliis nullam omnino juſtitiam, emendationem, ſeu gratiam potuit obtinere. Propter quæ gravamina et pericula, timens mortem propriam aut filiorum ſuorum, vel incarcerationem perpetuam, vel ſaltem diutinam, quaſi coactus et invitus incepit prout potuit ſe et ſuos defenſare.

Hæc eſt forma quam dominus rex Angliæ promiſit hominibus de Ros, antequam ipſi fecerunt ſibi homagium, & illam formam eis promiſit inviolabiliter obſervare, videlicet,

Quod ipſe dominus rex concederet unicuique eorum jus ſuum, et juriſdictionem ſuam, et etiam dominium, bonæ memoriæ domini Henrici quondam regis Angliæ, ſecundum quod prædicti homines de Ros referent ipſos haberent temporibus prædicti Henrici.

Item, Promſiit prædictus dominus rex ſupradictis hominibus quod non darentur nec ad firmam ponerentur; quibus articulis conceſſis præfatis hominibus homagium fecerunt domino regi, et ipſe eis promiſit ore proprio dictos articulos obſervare. Hoc non obſtante quidam cementarii redeuntes ad villam de Ruthlan, de loco ubi ipſi operabantur, obviaverunt cuidam nobili tranſeunti cum uxore ſua per viam regiam ſuper pace domini regis, qui cementarii per vim propoſuerunt auferre a prædicto nobili ſuam uxorem, et quia ipſe nobilis defendit ſuam uxorem ne ab ipſo auferetur, prædicti cementarii prædictum nobilem interfecerunt. Ille autem cui plus opponebatur dictum homicidium perpetraſſe, cum quibuſdam ſociis ſuis capti fuerunt: et cum parentela prædicti interfecti petierit juſtitiam a

domino juſticiario Ceſtrienſi de morte conſanguinii eorum, illi de parentela ipſius interfecti fuerunt incarcerati, et interfectores fuerunt a carcere liberati.

Item, Quidam homo interfecit quendam nobilem qui videlicet filium Goronu de Heylyn nutriverat, et interfector captus fuit: et cum quidam de parentela prædicti interfecti peterent juſtitiam de eorum conſanguineo a domino juſticiario Ceſtrienſi, quidam eorum capti fuerunt, et interfector fuit in caſtello domini regis liberatus, et adhuc eſt ibi, denegata juſtitia prædictæ parentelæ.

Item, Quidam nobiles vindicaverunt jus in quibuſdam terris, et de mobilibus ſuis obtulerunt domino regi magnam ſummam pecuniæ pro juſtitia habenda per rationem et veredictum proborum et legalium hominum de patria; quæ quidem terræ adjudicatæ fuerunt, prædictis vendicantibus totam terram prædictam cum omnibus ædificiis biadis, et aliis bonis in ipſis contentis. Dominus Reginaldus de Grey; et ſic amiſerunt primo pecuniam quam pro terra pacaverunt, et poſtea terram.

Item, Juriſdictionis noſtræ eſt quod nullus extraneus extirparet ſylvas noſtras, niſi prius habita licentia noſtra; hoc non obſtante, proclamatum fuit apud Rodolanum quod liceret unicuique Anglicano extirpare ſylvas noſtras ſine noſtra licentia ad libitum eorum voluntatis, et quod nobis fuit prohibitum dictas ſylvas noſtras extirpare.

Item, Terras quas probi homines a domino Davide filio Leolini bonæ memoriæ habuerunt per donationem prædicti Davidis abſtulit prædictus juſticiarius a prædictis probis hominibus.

Item, Quando aliquis ad villam de Ruthlan veniret cum mercandiis ſuis, ſi refutaret illud quod Anglicus eidem, offerret pro ſuis mercandiis, ſtatim duceretur ille Wallenſis ad caſtrum, et emptor ibidem haberet rem quam larginaverat, et dominus rex haberet pretium dictæ rei, tunc caſtellam dictum Wallenſem ſpoliatum et atrociter verberatum deliberabant, pacatis prius portario caſtri quatuor denariis. Si vero aliquis Wallenſis emeret aliquam rem in villa de Ruthlan,

Anglicus qualiſcunque ſuperveniret, et rem venditam dicto Wallenſi auferet ab ipſo pro minori pretio quam dictus Wallenſis ſolverat pro eadem.

Item, Contra promiſſionem domini regis prædictis hominibus de Ros, ipſe dedit territoriam villæ de Maenam in Penmayn et Lhysfaen.

Item, Taurus cujuſdam probi hominis deprehenſus fuit in pratis domini regis apud Ros, et captus, et dominus ejus vocatis fuit ad placitum uſque Rodolanum, et fuit condemnatus in quinque libris occaſione dicti tauri; bis adivit Londinium pro juſtitia petenda, et nullam fuit aſſecutus, et in illis duabus vicibus expendidit prædictus homo tres libras.

Item, Quidam nobiles de cantreda de Ros emerunt officia pro certa ſumma pecuniæ; pacata pecunia, meritis ſuis non exigentibus, dominus juſticiarius Ceſtrenſis abſtulit ab eis eorum officia.

Item, Quidam ruſticus Goronow ab Heylyn condemnatus fuit in 17 l. bonæ et legalis monetæ juris, ordine non ſervato.

Item, Goronow filius Heylyn accipit ad firmam territorium de Pennmaen et Lhysfaen a magiſtro Godfrido M. pro certa pecuniæ ſumma, uſque ad finem quatuor annorum, quo facto dominus Robertus de C. cum equis et armis, et cum viginti quatuor equitibus venit ad inequitandum prædictum Goronow, occaſione dictæ terræ, ita quod ſic non fuit ſecurus tranſitus nec uſque Rodolanum, nec uſque ad juſticiarios niſi cum forti Warniſtura de ſua parentela et etiam de ſuis amicis.

Item. In reformationem pacis ultro factæ et firmatæ inter dominum regem, et ſuos ex una parte, et dominum principem et ſuos ex altera expreſſe continebatur; quod omnes injuriæ et tranſgreſſiones factæ ex utraque parte penitus remitterentur; hoc non obſtante, oppoſitum fuit contra quoſdam nobiles quoddam fore factum tempore guerræ, et ſtatim capti fuerunt, nec potuerunt a carcere liberari antequam ipſi pacarent ſedecem marcas.

Item, Cum cauſæ debent tractari et terminari ſecundum legem et conſuetudinem terræ noſtræ compellun-

tur homines cantredæ noſtræ ad jurandum in cauſis prædictis contra ſuam conſcientiam, nec aliter jurare patiuntur.

Præ nos couſtavimus trecentas marcas eundo ad dominum regem pro juſtitia petenda in prædictis articulis, ibidem morando, et ad propria redeundo; et cum nos credebamus habere plenam juſtitiam de ſingulis articulis prædictis, dominus rex tranſmiſit ad partes noſtras dominum Reginaldum de Grey, cui dictus dominus rex totam terram ad firmam conceſſit, ad tractandos homines prædictæ cantredæ prout ſuæ placeret voluntati; qui compulſit nos jurare per manum ſuam cum deberemus jurare per manum domini regis, et ubi crux domini regis levari deberet, quod crux prædicti Reginaldi levaretur, in ſignum quod ipſe erat verus dominus. Dictus vero Reginaldus in ſuo avdentu ad partes Walliæ vendidit quibuſdam ſervientibus domini regis officia ſua, quae praedicti ſervientes prius emerant a dom. rege pro 23 Marcis, et illa officia non deberent vendi niſi cum dominium dominorum mutaretur.

Item, Dominus rex dedit Maredudo filio Madoc magiſterium ſatellitum pro ſuo ſervitio, dominus Reginaldus de Grey abſtulit ab eo ſuum officium, nec a domino rege aſſequi potuit aliquam juſtitiam.

Item, Unus de conſilio prædicti Reginaldi nobis dixit ore tenus, ſcilicet Cynwricus Fychan, quod in adventu prædicti Reginald ad partes Walliæ, viginti quatuor homines de probioribus hominibus cujuſlibet cantredæ caperet ad incarcerandos ipſos perpetuo vel decapitandos: propter iſta gravimina, et alia quæ dictus Reginaldus nobis fecit, et etiam propter minas quas ipſe nobis intulit, videlicet quod ſi mitteremus aliquos nuncios ad curiam domini regis pro juſtitia petenda decapitarentur. Multa alia damna nobis allata, et injuriæ factæ; et quando mittebamus ad curiam domini regis, nuntii non permittebantur nec auſi fuerunt intrare, ſed expendebant multa inutiliter; ob iſta gravamina æſtimabamus nos eſſe liberos a juramento facto domino regis coram deo.

Item, Bledyn Seis et Anjanus filius Genaf de Ros quoddam malefactum fecerunt temporibus David filii

Lewelini

Lewelini, & Henrici regis, de homicidiis factis tunc satisfactionem et emendam satisfacere monstraverunt; et modo de novo Reginaldus de Grey vellet et cogetet illam emendam renovare, donec oportuit ipsos terram proprias relinquere.

Item, Census et obventiones quos solvimus de veteri moneta per medietatem unius anni ante adventum novæ monetæ, cogerunt nos reddere eis novas monetas pro veteri et hoc sub eodam numero.

Ista sunt gravamina per dominum regem & suos justiciarios illata Rheso parvo de Yystrad Tywy.

Primum est, Postquam dictus Rhys dedit et concessit domino regi castrum suum apud Dynefowr post ultimam pacis formam: qui dictus Rhesus tunc temporis erat in tentilio domini Payn de Gadfry, eodem tempore interfecti fuerunt sex nobiles viri domini Rhys, de quibus satisfactionem nec justitiam unquam habuit quod fuit eis damnum et gravamen.

Item, Johannes Giffard calumniavit cum Rhesum super hæreditatem propriam apud Hirwryn, quicquid Rhesus inquisivit a domino rege legem patriæ suæ, aut legem comitatus Caermardden, in quo comitatu antecessores dicti Rhys solebant habere leges, quando fierent in unitatem Anglicorum, et sub eorum dominis; quod idem Rhys nullas leges habuit, et suam terram prædictam totaliter amisit; vellent ipsum instringere in comitatu Herefordiensi, ubi numquam antecessores ejus responderunt.

Præterea in terris præfati Rhesi talia gravamina fuerunt per Anglicos facta, maxime pertinent ad ecclesiasticos, videlicet in ecclesia Sancti Davidis quæ vocatur Llangadawc fecerunt stabula, et meretrices collocaverunt, et omnia bona quæ in ea continebantur omnino asportaverunt atque totos domos combusserunt; et in eadem ecclesia juxta aram percusserunt capellanum cum gladio ad caput ejus et eum reliquerunt semivivum.

Item, in eadem patria ecclesiam Dyngad et ecclesiam Llantredaf spoliaverunt et combusserunt; cæteraſque

eccleſias ex partibus illis omnino ſpoliaverunt calcibus, et libris, ac omnibus aliis ornamentis et rebus.

Gravamina Lewelini filii Rhys, & Howeli fratris eſus per dominum regem illata ſunt hæc.

Poſtquam in formam pacis inter dominum Henricum tunc temporis regem Angliæ et dominumprincipem apud Rhydchwnnã, tunc præfatus rex conceſſit, et per cartas ſuas confirmavit præfato principi homagium prædictorum nobibium *exos.* Prædicti nobiles fuerunt fideles et conſtantes cum præfato principe, juxta eorum donationem et cartarum ſuarum confirmationem: Edwardus nunc rex Angliæ prædictos nobiles dehæreditavit, denegando eiſdem omnes leges et conſuetudines Walliæ; ita quod non habuerunt terras ſuas nec per legem, nec per gratiam.

So long as.

Iſta ſunt gravimina, damna, ſeu moleſtia per Anglicos illata filiis Maredudi, filii Oweni.

Primum eſt quamquam dominus rex conceſſit prædictis nobilibus ſuas proprias hæreditates poſt pacis formam, videlicet Geneur'glyn et Creudhyn; præfatus vero rex, contra ſuam donationem et pacis formam, terris ſupradictis antedictos nobiles dehæreditavit, denegando eidem omnes leges et conſuetudines Walliæ, et Angliæ, atque comitatus Caermardhyn.

Secundum eſt, Quod præfatus rex in ſuo comitatu de Cardigan, per ſuos juſticiarios antedictos nobiles compellit, ut ipſi traderent judicium ſuper ignobiles ac ſubditos patriæ, et quod tales homines e comiſſo judicium ſuper ipſos opponerent, ubi numquam anteceſſores eorum ab Anglicis talia ſuſtinuerunt.

Tertium eſt, Quod juſticiarii domini regis curiam eorum nobilium abſtulerunt, compellendo homines ſuos proprios coram eis ſatisfacere quia de jure coram praedictis nobilibus deberent ſatisfacere.

Quartum eſt, Quod quoddam naufragium in terris antedictorum nobilium fuit, qui quidem nobiles boua naufragii receperunt, ſicut anteceſſores eorum fecerunt, et hoc non fuit eis prohibitum per aliquos

ex

ex parte regis: antedictus verò rex contra eorum consuetudinem et legem, occasione illius Naufragii eosdem damnavit in octoginta Marcis sterlingorum; atque bona quæ in Naufragio continebantur omnino asportaverunt.

Quintum est, quod nullus nostrum in comitatu Uffegd de Cardigan ausus esset venire inter Anglicos propter timorem carceris et nisi fuisset propter periculum Nobilibus Metrop. nihil contra honoram domini regis moverent.

Significant vero quod omnes Christiani habent leges et consuetudines in eorum propriis terris; Judæi vero inter Anglicos habent leges, ipsi vero in terris suis, et eorum anteceſſores habuerunt leges immutabiles et consuetûdines, donec Anglia post ultimam guerram ab eis leges suas abstulerunt.

Memorandum de quærelis omnium nobilium virorum de Ystradatuy eisdem latis ac factis per Rogerum de Clyfford, & Rogerum Croscil vicem domini Rogeri de Clyfford gerentem contra privilegium, justitiam, et consuetudinem prædictorum virorum de Ystratuy, ut dicunt et probant.

Primus articulus est quod cum dicti Rogeri cogerunt dictos homines de Ystradatuy reddere sibi pro consuetudinibus suis viginti Marcas sterlingorum, et post solutionem dictæ pecuniæ cito fregerunt in hunc modum, quod posuerunt super 17 viros judicantes secundum jus Angliæ; quod nunquam fuit consuetudo nec privilegium dictæ patriæ.

Item. Madecus filius Bledyn condemnatus fuit in quatuor Marcio injustè.

Item. Lewelinus Rufus condemnatus fuit in quinque Marcis et 17 averiis contra privilegium et consuetudinem patriæ.

Item. Quod ipsi Rogeri fecerunt foresta super terram propriam virorum patriæ: et propter pedem unius cervi inventum id orè canis alicujus, tres homines fuerunt spoliati omnino.

Item.

Item. Michael ab Yguſtyl condemnatus fuit in decem ſolidis pro facto patris ſui, quadraginta annis elapſis.

Item. Cogerunt parentes Ennii à Strabonis ad reddendum ſuum relevagum in vita ſua.

Item. Quod ipſi poſuerunt ſuper nos omnes ſatellitos de Anglicis, quod nunquam fuit noſtra dimidietas.

Item. Dati fuimus domino Mauritio de Crumy, et vinditi fuimus domino Rogero de Clyfford, quod nunqnam fuit ſuper parentes noſtros.

Item. Roberti de Monte alto petiit, à domino rege tertiam partem terræ de Monte alto in Ward, et dijudicata fuit coram domino rege quod numquam dicta terra fuit in Ward data.

Hi ſunt articuli quæſtionum illati ab hominibus de Penlhyn, injuſte per conſtabularium Albi Monaſterii & ſuos cives.

Primo. Cynwric filius Madoci fuit ſpoliatus ab eis tempore pacis octo libris, et quatuor bobus, et blado laboris unius aratri, per duos annos et valore trium librarum à tribus hominibns ejuſdem; affirmat etiam quod ſolvit 16 libras per octo in valore, et majorem habuit injuriam imponendo manus in ipſum quam totum quod amiſit, quia tunc erat conſtabularius domini principis apud Penllyn: non fuit alia cauſa dictæ ſpoliationis niſi quia dicebatur invenire 24 garbas de decimis in domo cujuſdam hominis dicti Cynwrici.

Item. Adam Preco condemnatus fuit in ſeptem ſolidis & octo denariis, et equa valoris unius libræ, imponendo manus in ipſum et liberando latronem dictæ equæ, quia ipſe venerat ibidem cum dicto latrone capto.

Item. Endevot ab Gruffydh condemnatus fuit in 27 s. nec fuit cauſa niſi quia vendidit equam unam ad unum miliare citra villam, ſicut ſolebant à tempore quo non extat memoria, quando veniebant ad nundinas.

Item. Adaf Ddu condemnatus fuit in 30 s. eo quod duo boves quos propoſuerat vendere in foro Albi Monaſterii

Monaſterii exibant villam ipſo conveniente, et captus fuit et detentus uſque ad ſolutionem 30 s. nec ipſi boves exierant niſi da Plateo qua ſtabant uſque ad aliam Plateam.

Item. Biryt filius Gwyn, condemnatus fuit in quinque ſolidis, et in carcerem ductus; eo quod percuſſit unum bovem indomitum ipſum calcantem in foro.

Item. Yorwerch ab Gorgonon condemnatus fuit 7 s. eo quod evaſerat quondam de carcere eorum tempore guerræ, et in tempore pacis inventus fuit in dicta villa, et hoc contra formam pacis initæ inter dominum regem, et dominum principem.

Item. Duo famuli Kenwric ap Gruffydh condemnati fuerunt in duabus Marcis, eo quod dicebant ipſos non ſolviſſe toletum poſtquam ſolverant.

Item. Caducanus Niger famulus conſtabularii de Penlyhyn captus fuit et condemnatus in 6 s. et 4 d. eo quod nolebat recipere veterem monetam pro nova.

Item. Gruffydh ap Goronow *tercinarius* domini Principis ſpoliatus fuit uno bove valoris 11 s. et 8 d. et poſtquam arraveret conſtabularius cum dicto bove per ſeptem menſes, ſolvit dictus Gruffynus pro dicto bove, 40 d. A Servant.

Item. Howel ap David ſpoliatus fuit per ſatellites albi Monaſterii duobus ſolidis extra villam, eo quod denegaverat prius munera ut ſolent ſatellites petere.

Item. David ab Gronow ab Eynion ſpoliatus fuit 30 s. eo quod quidam cives albi monaſterii dixit, quod quidam de Penlhyn, qui mortuus fuerat, denegabatur ei in quibuſdam rebus.

Item. Duo famuli Y bongam capti fuerunt et condemnati in duabus libris, eo quod poſuerunt manum in quendam latronem qui ſpoliabat eos in villa per noctem, et liberaverunt latronem.

Item. Eneyon filius Ichael captus et verberatus fuit, et ſpoliatus duobus bobus valoris, 24 s. et 6 d. nulla alia de cauſa, niſi quod boves ipſo connivente moverunt ſe de platea ad iliam plateam.

Item.

Item. Adaf ap Ychael condemnatus fuit in duabus libris pro una libra, et ipſe poſuerat in juramento cujuſdam civis de albo monaſterio quod non tenebatur niſi in una libra pro principe, nec voluit jurare, et ideo ſpoliatus fuit una libra.

Item. Guyan Maeſtran ſpoliatus fuit 5 s. eo quod dicebat quod quidam Mercator de Ardydwy tenebatur eis in quibuſdam rebus, cum ipſe nec erat de dicta Balliva: item condemnatus fuit in 8 d. quia dicebant ipſum vendere quaſdam oves extra villam cum ipſe non vendiderat.

Item. Famulus Lewelini ab Gwyn ſpoliatus fuit ſeptem ovibus, et 5 s. et ſuo pallio, eo quod dicebant ipſum eſſe de domino Griffydh ab Gwyn cum ipſe non erat.

Item. Iorwerch ab Meylir captus fuit et condemnatus in 15 s. cum pallio, eo quod denegavit dare munus ſatellitibus quod petebant, ipſi ſinxerunt eum in villa pernoctare.

Item. Cives albi monaſterii rapuerunt à Madoco Rufo filio Ychael unum bovem valoris, 11 s. et 6 d.

Iſta omnia facta fuerunt per Henricum Gamber dicti loci conſtabularium, cum aliis innumerabilibus articulis.

Item. Ybicre captus fuit in negotio domini principis, et condemnatus in 5 s. abſque aliqua cauſa.

Hæc ſunt gravamina Goronow filii Heylyn, viz.

Quod quidem Villanus dictus Coronon vocatus fuit ad curiam domini regis occaſione indebitæ cauſæ. Tunc dictus Goronow venit ad ſuum villanum defendendum, et petiit pro ipſo veritatem à domino juſticiario, aut legem qua utuntur homines ſuæ patriæ; omnibus autem his eidem denegatis, dictus villanus condemnatus fuit in 27 libris, et tribus obolis: tunc dictus Goronow adivit Londonium pro juſtitia habenda, et expendit quinque Marcas et quatuor Solidos, et promiſſa fuit ſibi juſtitia, et nullam fuit aſſecutus.

Item. Quidam nobilis fuit interfectus, videlicet, qui nutriverat filium dicti Goronow, et ille interfector

fector captus fuit et deportatus fuit apud caſtrum de Ruthlan: tunc dictus Goronow et quidem de parentela interfecti petierunt juſtitiam de interfectore: tunc denegata eis juſtititia, quidam fuerunt incarcerati, et ille interfector fuit in Caſtello liberatus. Tunc dictus Goronow interum adivit Londonium propter ſupradicta gravamina ad juſtitiam petendam, et expendit, 20 Marcas, 3 s. 4 d. Et dominus rex promiſit eidem plenariam juſtititiam, et nullam fuit adeptus cum pervenit ad patriam ſuam.

Item. Tertio ex defectu juſtitiæ oportuit dictum Goronow adire Londonium occaſionibus ſupradictis pro juſtitia petenda, et expendit illa vice 18 Marcas, 6 s. 8 d. bonæ et legalis Monetæ; et tunc ſimpliciter promiſit dominus rex eidem juſtitiam perhibere; et quando credebat habere juſtitiam, tunc venit Reginaldus de Grey, et dixit aperte quod ipſe deberit tractare totam patriam per chartas domini regis, et abſtulit totam Ballivam à dicto Goronow; quam ſibi dominus rex conceſſit, et vendidit illam Ballivam ad voluntatem ſuam, et tunc petiit dictus Goronow juſtitiam à domino Reginaldo de gravaminibus ſupradictis, et nullam fuit adeptus.

Item. Dictus Goronow recepit terram, videlicet, Penmaen et Llysfaen ad firmam de Godfrido Merlyn, uſque ad finem quatuor annorum pro certa pecuniæ ſumma. Tunc Robertus de Cruquer venit cum equis ſuis et armis ad quærendum dictam terram per vim, et quia dictus Goronow non permitteret auferre dictam terram ab eodem uſque terminum præſignatum, tunc vocatus fuit ad curiam dictus Goronow illa occaſione; tunc venit Reginaldus de Grey, cum viginti quatuor equitibus armatis ad proponendum capere dictum Goronow, vel ad eundem decapitandum; et quia viderunt quod non poſſent implere ſuum propoſitum illo die, vocaverunt dictum Goronow craſtino die apud Ruthlan, et tunc dictus Goronow habuit conſilium ita quod non deberent adire dictam curiam: iterum dictus Goronow vocatus fuit adplacitum apud Caerwys, et non auſus fuit adire dictum placitum niſi per conductum domini epiſcopi Aſaphenſis,

Aſaphenſis, quia dictus Reginaldus et ſui complures ibidem erant armati.

Item. Propter iſta gravamina de quibus nullam habuit juſtitiam niſi laborare et expendere duas libr. quatuor Marcas, et 9 d; et quia non auſus fuit in propria perſona adire curiam, miſit quendam nuncium deportantem duas literas, unam ad dominum regem, et aliam ad fratrem Lewelinum, ad ſignandum domino regi quod amitteret totam patriam, et dictum Goronow quia non obſervavit illud quod eiſdem promiſit; et quia nullam poſſent homines de Ros et Arglifeld aſſequi juſtitiam, et quia noluit corrigere ſive emendare iſta gravamina propter hoc amiſit totam patriam.

Supplicant ſanctitati veſtræ, domine archipieſcope Cantuarienſis totius Angliæ primas, nobiles viri de Tegengyl, et vobis demonſtrant quod cum prædicti nobiles fecerunt homagium domino Edwardo regi Angliæ, ipſe rex eiſdem promiſit quod eoſdem immunes obſervaret et indemnes, tam in bonis, libertatibus, juribus, juriſdictionibus, privilegiis quibus uſi fuerunt tempore Henrici regis per ſuum obtentum privilegium; ex quibus privilegiis fuerunt poſtmodo ſpoliati.

Imprimis. Juribus et conſuetudinibus partiæ fuerunt ſpoliati, viz. prædictus Edwardus compellendo quod ipſi procederent in cauſis ſecundum legem Anglicanam, cum ſecundum tenorem privilegii ſui ſecundum legem Wallicanam procedere debuiſſent, viz. apud Tref Edwyn, et apud Ruthlan, et apud Caerwys; et optimati de patria fuerunt manu capti quia ipſi provocabant quod ipſi procederent in cauſa apud Tref Edwyn ſecundum legem et conſuetudinem Wallicanam ſecundum tenorem privilegii.

Secundo. Quia unus juſticiarius duceret in cauſis peragendis, alius ſuus prædeceſſor in irritum revocaret, viz. in cauſa Davidis Reginaldus de Grey recitavit proceſſum quem ſuus anteceſſor ratum habuit, et etiam approbavit.

Tertio

Tertio. Quod ſi unus nobilis de patria fuiſſet propter calumniam ſibi impoſitam captus, quod non remitterent eundem pro *cautione fideviſſoria* evadere, quod facere debuiſſent. Surety.

Quarto. Quod tres unius nobilis deducti ad caſtrum fuerunt de Flynt, propter parvam accuſationem, una cum averiis ſuis, nec potuerunt de caſtro devenire, nec dilationem obtinere donec unuſquiſque dedit unum bovem conſtabulario de Flynt, et donec ſolverunt tres libras Kynwrico Seis pro dilatione habenda.

Quinto. Reginaldus de Grey terras virorum de Merton dedit et conceſſit abbati de Baſingwerk ordinis Ciſterciend. contra legem Wallicanam, et patræ conſuetudim; et contra formam pacis initæ inter dominum Lewelinum principem et dominum regem, viz. 16 cantatas terræ.

Sexto. Mirantur nobiles et optimati patriæ pro eo quod dominus rex fecit ædificare caſtrum ſuper terram et poſſeſſionem magnatum, et mandavit dominus rex juſticiario ſuo quod ipſe ſolveret eque bonam terram illis ſpoliatis et adhuc aliquam terram, nec ſuæ terræ æſtimationem ſunt conſecuti in Flynt.

Septimo. Reginaldus de Grey non permitteret poſſeſſores ſylvarum uti ſylvis ſuis, donec ab eiſdem pretium et præmium fuiſſet conſecutus, et aliis ruſticis gratis permitteret ſylvam prædictorum abſcidere, cum non debuiſſent ſecundum patriæ conſuetudinem et legem Wallicanam.

Octavo. Cum homines de Cyrchynan fecerunt pactum cum domino rege, quod cum ipſi concederent dimidietatem cujuſdam prati, ad hoc quod dominus rex non permitteret ſylvam prædictorum abſcidere Howelo filio Gruffydd præſente, et poſtmodum Reginaldus de Grey prædictum pratum infirmavit, viz. concedendo aliis quod abſciderent ſylvam prædictorum, et eoſdem dimidietate prati ſui ſpoliando.

Nono. Filius Kynwrici ab Goronow fuit captus apud Ruthlan culpa ſua minime præcedente, niſi vellet pignus ſuum *acquietare* a quoddam muliere, et conſtabularius de Ruthlan fecit eundem detradi in carcerem Redeem the gage.

cerem injurioſe, nec potuit exinde deliberari donec prædictus fuit condemnatus ultra ſuorum bonorum Velua. *hypotheca.*

Decimo. Cum ballivus de Ruthlan erat in convivio apud villam Four Hutmus de Limayl quendam virum nobilem crudeliter vulneravit in præſentia ballivi ſupradicti; cujus vulneris occaſione prædictus Hutmus fuit in octo libris condemnatus; et quum ille cui injuria fuiſſet facta petere voluiſſet prædictas libras, eundem fecit detrudi in carcerem una.

Undecimo, Nuntii Reginaldi de Grey propoſuerunt facere illud quod erat abſurdum et diſſonum juris ſecundum canonicas ſanctiones; videlicet petere ab eiſdem quod ipſi ararent Reginaldo de Grey, et quod ipſi ſeminarent illam araturam; et illi fuerunt nuntii, viz. Kynwricus Seis et Hutmus de Limayl, quod prædictus vero Kynwricus in præſentia omnium de patria juravit, niſi omnes de patria ararent quod ipſi infra tempus pœniterent, et ipſi multum timuerunt metu qui potuit cadere in conſtantem virum.

Duodecimo. Quod præcones de Tegeyngl emerunt officium præconiæ pro 30 marcis a domino rege, et poſtmodum Reginaldus de Grey prædictos præcones tam pecunia quam præconia ſpoliavit contra legem et conſuetudinem Anglicanam.

Tertiodecimo. Septem nobiles fuerunt interfecti minus juſte ab Anglicis, et adhuc parentes prædictorum aliquam ſatisfactionem non habuerunt, cum illi malefactores fuerunt capti; et poſtmodum prædictos malefactores remiſerunt prædicti conſtabularii impunitos.

Quartodecimo. Conſtabularius unus de Ruthlan detradit duos Satellites domini regis in carcere, pro eo quod ipſi tenuerunt aliquem Anglicum qui grave delictum commiſit hominem alium vulnerando,

Iſti omnes articuli in præmiſſis nominati, fuerunt perpetrati contra prædictorum virorum libertatem, juriſdictionem, et privilegium et contre legem et conſuetudinem Wallicanam; videlicet, quod non erant auſi eorum quærelas domino regi per ſuos nuncios denun-

denuntiare, propter metum Reginaldi et timorem, qui metus potuit cadere in conſtantem virum: quia prædictus Reginaldus ſua voce Dilvada fuit proteſtatus; Openly. quod ſin inveniret nuntios prædictorum quod eoſdem decapitaret prout nobis ex parte unius ex conſilio ſuo fuit certive intimatum. In tantum quod lingua non poteſt proferre, nec penna ſcribere in quantum prædicti homines de Tegeyngl fuerunt aggravati.

Conqueritur vobis, domine archiepiſcope Cantuarienſis totius Angliæ primas, Lewelinus filius Griffini filii Madoci de conſtabulario de cruce Oſwaldi regis, et de hominibus ejuſdem villae, qui praedictum Lewelinum tertia parte cujuſdam villae quae vocatur Ledrot, et curia patris ſui, ſine obſervatione juris patriae ſuae vel conſuetudine inequiter ſpoliarunt.

Praeterea. Praedictus conſtabularius et ſui complures eundem Lewelinum communi paſtura, qua praedictus Lewelinus uſus fuit temporibus retroactis, ordine juris patriae minime obſervaro, ſpoliarunt, et in 70 libris occaſione praedictae paſturae condemnaverint. Cæterum dominu rex Angliae conceſſit quaſdam literas cuidam Baſtardo, ſcilicet Griffino Fychan ab Cynlhaeth, ad litigandum contra eundem Lewelinum pro toto dominio ſuo obtinendo, quarum literarum occaſione idem Lewelinus expendit cc l. ſterlingorum legalis uſualiſæ monetæ.

Iterum. Prædictus conſtabularius compulſit prædictum Lewelinum ad mittendum duos ſuos nobiles ad eos ſuſpendendos ad prædictum conſtabularium quicquid viri nobiles ſuſpendi minime debuiſſent, quam ſuſpenſionem nollent parentes prædictorum hominum ſuſtinuiſſe pro ccc libris ſterlingorum. Poſtmidum prædictus conſtabularius incacerravit bis 60 homines prædicti Lewelini nulla præmiſſa ratione, niſi quod quidam gareo emiſit quandam vocem, nec potuerunt evadere ſuum carcerem donec quilibet eorum ſolvit decem ſolidos pro ſua deliberatione.

Item. Quando homines prædicti Lewelini venirent ad forum ad ſuos boves vendendos, prædictus conſtabularius faceret boves deduci ad caſtrum, nec poſtmodum boves reſtituerit, nec pretium ſolveret

venditori: præſertim idem conſtabularius et ſui ceperunt jumenta prædicti Lewelini ad terram ſuam propriam, et de eiſdem jumentis fecerunt ſuam voluntatem.

Præterea. Juſticiarii domini regis compulſerunt prædictum Lewelinum ad tradendum quandam villam filiis Eneoni filii Griffini; qui quidem prædictam villam, nec a ſe, nec a prædeceſſoribus fuerunt conſecuti, ordine juris patriæ ſuæ in hac parte minime obſervato.

Idem. Prædictus conſtabularius abſtulit equum ballivi prædicti Lewelini ſine aliqua ratione, nec ſibi aliquid debebatur; nec adhuc prædictus ballivus ſatisfactionem aliquam eſt conſecutus.

Cæterum. Quando prædictus Lewelinus volebat adire villam quæ vocatur Caerlleon cum literis domini regis ad comperiendum ibidem in die ſibi aſſignata; filii Griffini filii Gwenynny et armigeri domini Rogeri Staraingе ex conſilio Rogeri eundem Lewelinum et ſuos incarcerarunt in ſui injuriam et ſuorum non modicam læſionem; quam injuriam et læſionem nollet prædictus Lewelinus et ſui ſuſtinuiſſe pro ccc marcis ſterlingorum; nec ab eiſdem potuit evadere donec invenit pro ſe ſufficientem cautionem.

His et aliis receptis in ſcriptis acceſſit, archiepiſcopus ad dominum regem; ſupplicans ei humiliter ut gravamina ſuppradicta dignetur avertere, et ea correctione debita terminare: et ſaltem pro tanto habere exceſſus Wallenſium excuſatos: qui reſpondit Wallenſes injuriis ſibi illatis eſſe excuſabiles, quia omni tempore poratus extiterat omni facere juſtitiam conquerenti: quo audito, archiepiſcopus regi iterum ſupplicavit ut permitteret Wallenſes pro ſuis gravaminibus exponendis et remediis afferendiis ap ipſum habere acceſſum liberum et regreſſum: qui reſpondit quod libere permitteret eos ad ſe accedere ſed et redira; ſi ſecundum juſtitiam regreſſus eorum meritis reſponderet. Quibus auditis acceſſit archiepiſcopus ad principem Walliæ in Snawdoniam ut tam ipſum quam Davidem fratrem ſuum et cæteros Wallenſes ad aliquam humilitatis regulam ipſorum animos inclinaret; per quam poſſet qui ipſorum nuntius regiam clementiam ad ipſos admittendos in gratiam inclinare. Poſt varios

autem

autem tractatus respondit princeps: quod paratus erat voluntati regiæ sa supponere duobus præsuppositis, salva scilicet conscientia sua qua populo suo assistere tenebatur; salva etiam condescentia status sui. Quæ cum archiepiscopus retulisset domino regi, respondit dominus rex quod nullum alium de pace volebat cum principe ac subditis suis habere tractatum, nisi quod ipsi supponerent se in omnibus regiæ voluntati: et cum constaret archiepiscopo Wallenses nullo modo velle se regiæ voluntati supponere, nisi præcite in forma eis tolerabili et accepta, tractatum habuit ex permissioni domini regis cum magnatibus tunc præsentibus, qui omnes consenserunt in articulos infra scriptos, quos per fratrem Joannem Wallensem inscriptos principi et suis archiepiscopus destinavit.

Primo. Quod dominus rex de quatuor cantredis et terris ab eo datis, magnatibus suis nullum vult habere tractatum, nec etiam de insula Anglesey.

Idem. De tenentibus eorum cantredorum si ad suam pacem venerint, proponit facere prout condecet regiam majestatem, credimus tamen quod aget cum eis misericorditer si ad pacem venerint, et ad hoc proponimus una cum cæteris amicis efficaciter laborare, sperantes efficaciter exaudiri.

Item. De facto domini Lewelini nullum potuimus aliud habere responsum nisi quod simpliciter et absolute conformet ad domini regis voluntatem, ut credimus firmiter quod dominus rex cum eo aget miserecorditer, et ad hoc intendimus cum totis viribus laborare cum cæteris amicis exaudiendis ut confidimus cum effectu.

Primo. Quod proceres hanc formam gratiæ regiæ conceperunt; ut videlicet domino Lewelino se regiae gratiae submittente, provideatur ei per regem honorifice in mille libratis sterlingorum de aliquo honorifico comitatu, in aliquo loco Angliae; ita tamen quod praedictus Lewelinus ponat dominum regem in Seysina Snaudonum absolute, perpetue et quiete. Et ipse rex filiae principis secundum condicestiam sui proprii sanguinis providebit, et ad hoc sperant se posse regis animum inclinare.

Item. Si contingat Lewelinum ducere uxorem et habere de ea puellam maſculam, intendunt impetrare proceres a domino rege, ut proles illa ſuccedat perpetuo hæreditario Lewelini in terra maſculorum liberorum videlicet comitatu.

Item. De populo principi immediate ſubjecto tam in Snaudon quam alibi providebitur ſecundum deum prout complete ſaluti ejuſdem populi et honori; et ad hoc eſt regia clementia ſatis prona, populo deſiderans conſolabiliter providere.

Primo. Quod ſi ad honorem Dei et ſuum juxta crucis aſſumptae debitum velit in terrae ſanctae ſubſidium proficiſci, providebitur ei honorifice ſecundum condeſcentiam ſtatus ſui, ita tamen quod non redeat niſi per regiam clementiam vocatus: rogabimus etiam dominum regem, et ſperamus efficaciter exaudiri, ut provideat proli ſuae.

His omnibus motu noſtro ſubjungimus Wallenſibus omnia pericula imminere longe gravius quam eis diximus oraculo vivae vocis: ſcribimus dure valde ſed longe durius eſt obrui vi et armis, et in fine totaliter extirpari, quoniam omni die pericula nobis imminentia aggravantur.

Item. Longe difficilius eſt omni tempore in guerra eſſe in anguſtia cordis et corporis vivere, et ſemper in inſidiis malignari, et cum hoc vivere et mori in peccato mortali continuo et rancore.

Item. De quo doleremus valde ſi ad pacem minime veniatis, indubitanter timemus contra vos debere ſententiam eccleſiaſticam intolerabiliter aggravari pro exceſſibus veſtris; de quibus non poteritis vos aliquatenus excuſare in quibus invenietis miſericordiam, ſi ad pacem veniatis et de his nobis reſpondeatur in ſcriptis.

Reveren-

Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto patri ac domino J. *Dei gratia Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi ac totius Angliæ primati ſuus in Chriſto devotus filius Lewelinus princeps Walliæ, dominus Snaudon, ſalutem cum deſideriis benevolentiæ filialis ac reverentiis multimodis et honoribus,*

SANCTE pater, ſicut voſmet conſuluiſtis, ad gratiam regiam parati ſumus venire ſub forma tamen nobis ſecura et honeſta: ſed quia forma contenta in articulis nobis miſſis minime ſecura eſt et honeſta prout nobis et conſilio noſtro videtur; et de qua multum admirantur omnes audientes, eo quod plus tendit ad deſtructionem et ruinam populi noſtri ac noſtram, quam ad noſtram honeſtatem et ſecuritatem, nullo modo permittit conſilium noſtrum nos in ea conſentire ſi vellemus; alii quoque nobiles et populus nobis ſubjectus nullo modo conſentirent in eandem ob indubitatam deſtructionem et diſſipationem quæ inde eis poſſent evenire.

Tamen ſupplicamus veſtræ ſanctæ parternitati quatenus ad reformationem pacis debitæ, honeſtæ, et ſecutæ, ob quam tot labores aſſumpſiſtis, proinde laboretis, collationem habentes ad articulos quos vobis mittimus in ſcriptis: honorabilius enim eſt et rationi magis conſonum ut de domino rege teneamus terras in quibus jus habemus, quam nos exhæredare et eas tradere alienis. Datum apud Garthcelyn.

Primo. Quod licet dominus rex de quatuor Cantredis et aliis terris ab eo datis magnatibus ſuis, ac de Inſula Angleſey nullum voluerit habere tractatum, tamen conſilium principis non permittit, ſi contingat aliquam pacem fieri, quin tractetur de premiſſis; eo quod iſti Cantredi ſunt de puro principis tenemento, in quibus merum jus habuerunt principes et prædeceſſores ſui à temporibus Cambri filii Bruti, tum quia ſunt de principatu, cujus confirmationem princeps

Pope. obtinet pro bonæ memoriæ Octobonum ſedis *Apoſtolicæ* legatum in Anglia, conſenſu domini regis et ſui patris ad hoc intervenienti, ſicut pater Chartas eorum inſpicienti, tum quia etiam equius eſt quod veri hæredes teneant dictos Cantredos de domino rege pro pecunia et ſervitiis conſuetis, quam eos dari extraneis et Advenis, qui et ſi fuerunt regere aliquam tamen per vim et potentiam.

Dicunt etiam comiter omnes tenentes de omnibus Cantredis Walliæ quod non ſunt auſi venire ad voluntatem regis ut de eis diſponat ſecundum regiam majeſtatem.

Primo. Quod dominus rex nec pacta, nec juramenta, nec Chartas ſervavit ab initio verſus dominum ſuum principem et ipſos.

Secundo. Quia regales in eccleſias et eccleſiaſticas perſonas inivit crudeliſſimam tyrannidem.

Tertio. Quod non tenentur ad prædicta, cum ſint homines principis qui etiam paratus eſt de dictis tenementis domino regi obedire per ſervitia conſueta. Ad id quod dicit quod princeps veniet ſimpliciter et abſolute ad voluntatem domini regis: reſpondetur quod cum nulli de dictis Cantredis auſi ſint venire ad talem voluntatem propter cauſas prædictas, nec comitas eorum permittat principem venire ad dictam voluntatem modo prædicto.

Item. Quod proceres regni procurent ut domino principi provideatur in mille libratis in aliquo loco Angliæ; dicatur quod illam proviſionem non debet acceptare cum ſit procurata per dictos proceres, qui nituntur ad exhæreditationem principis, ut habeant terras ſuas in Wallia. Item idem princeps non tenetur dimittere hæreditatem ſuam et progenitorum ſuorum in Wallia à tempore Bruti, et etiam ſibi confirmatam per Romanæ ſedis legatum, ut dictum eſt; et terram in Anglia acceptare, unde linguam, mores et leges ac conſuetudines ignorat; ubi poſſent etiam ſibi quædam malitiori imponi ex odio inveterato à vicinis Anglicis quibus terra illa privaretur in perpetuum.

Item. Ex quo rex proponit privare principem ſua priſtina hæreditate, non videtur probabile quod rex permitteret ei habere terram in Anglia ubi nullum jus videtur habere. Et ſi etiam non permitteretur principi terra ſterilis et inculta jure hæreditario ab antiquo et debita in Wallia; nullatenus permitteretur eidem in Anglia terra fertilis culta et habundans.

Item. Quod dictus princeps ponat dominum regem in Seyſino Snawdon abſolute, perpetue et quiete: dicatur quod cum Snawdon ſit de appendiciis principatus Walliæ, quem ipſe et anteceſſores ſui tenuerunt à tempore Bruti, ut dictum eſt; conſilium ſuum non permittit eum renuntiare dicto loco, et locum nimis ſibi debitum in Anglia receptare.

Item. Populus Snawdon dicit, quod licet princeps vellet dare regi Seyſinam eorundem, ipſi tamen nollent homagium facere alicui extraneo, cujus linguam, mores, legeſque penitus ignorant. Quia ſic poſſet contingere eos in perpetuum captivari, ac crudeliter tractari, ſicut alii Cantredi circumquaque per Ballivos regis ac alios regales alias tractati fuerunt, crudelius quam Saraceni; prout patet in rotulis quos vobis miſerunt ſancte pater. Iſta ſunt dicenda pro David fratre principis. Quod cum voluerit terram ſanctam adire hoc faciet voluntarie et ex voto pro Deo non pro homine, unde invitus non peregrinabitur Deo dante; qui coacta ſervitia Deo novit diſplicere. Et ſi contingat ipſum in poſterum terram ſanctam adire bona ductus voluntate, non propter hoc deberent ipſe et hæredes ſui in perpetuum exhæreditari; immò potius præmium obtinere. Præterea quia princeps, et ſui cauſa odii, ad aliquos concipiendi, vel lucri captandi non moverunt guerram alienas terras invadendo; ſed ſuam propriam hæreditatem jura libertateſque, necnon ſuorum defendendo; dominuſque rex et ſui odio inveterato, et cauſa lucrandi terras noſtras guerram fecit: credimus in hoc juſtam guerram nos fovere, et ſperamus in hac Deum nos velle juvare, ac in eccleſiarum devaſtatores divinam ultionem convertere, qui eccleſias funditus deſtruxerunt ac combuſſerunt, ſacra ex eis rapuerunt, Sacer-

dotes, Clericos religioſos, claudos, ſurdos, mutos, infantes, ubera lactentes, ac debiles et miſerabiles perſonas, ut uſque ſexu occiderunt; et alia enormia perpetrarunt, ſicut in dictis rotulis vobis tranſmiſſis continetur: unde abſit à ſancta paternitate veſtra ſententiam aliquam fulminare in alios quam in illos qui prædicta perpetrârunt. Nos enim qui regalibus praedicta paſſi fuimus, ſperamus à vobis ſuper praemiſſis paternum ſolatium, et remedium obtinere; et in praedictos ſacrilegos eorumque fautores, qui nullo ſuper his privilegio defenduntur, animadvertere; ne prae defectu dignæ correctionis ſeu ultionis in eos exercendo prædicta mala in perpetuum per alios trahantur in exemplum.

Mirantur etiam quamplures in terra noſtra, quod conſuluiſtis nobis dimittere terram noſtram propriam, et alienam adire inter hoſtes noſtros comerſando; quia ex quo non poſſumus pacem habere in terra quæ noſtra eſt ipſo jure noſtro, minime poterimus in aliena terra inter hoſtes noſtros pacifice conſervari: et licet durum ſit in guerra et inſidiis vitam ducere; durius tamen eſt funditus deſtrui, et ad nihilum, niſi Deus avertat, deduci populum Chriſtianum qui nihil aliud quærit niſi ſua jura defendere; unde neceſſitas ad hoc nos cogit, et inimicorum cupiditas non offendit; et vos, ſancte pater, coram nobis dixiſtis, quod vos ſententiaſtis in omnes qui impediunt pacem cauſa odii vel lucri; ſed manifeſtum eſt qui ſunt illi qui guerrant iſtis cauſis.

Timor enim mortis, et incarcerationis, vel perpetuæ exhæreditationis, nulla obſervatio fœderum pactorum vel chartarum, tyrannica dominatio, vel multa alia conſimilia cogunt nos eſſe in guerris; et hoc Deo et vobis oſtendimus, et petimus à vobis paternum adjutorium, ut patet in literis noſtris.

Ad hoc multi alii in regno Angliæ offenderunt regem et tamen nullos exhæredavit in perpetuum, ut dicitur; unde ſi aliqui ex noſtris ipſum offenderunt injuſte, dignum eſt ut ſatisfaciant prout poſſint ſine exhæredatione; et ſicut in vobis confidimus, ſupplicamus quod ad hoc laboretis ſancte pater: nam etſi nobis imponatur quod fregimus pacem, tamen illi verius fregerunt qui nullum fœdus vel pactum nobis ſervaverunt;

vaverunt; qui nullam emendam de quærimoniis nobis fecerunt, ut patet in rotulis.

Primo auditis reſcripſit Archiepiſcopus Wallenſibus in hæc verba:

IN nomine domini, Amen. Cum nos frater J. permiſſione divina Cantuarienſis eccleſiæ miniſter humilis totius Angliæ primas, ſcientes noſtro incumbere officio, pro vobis domine Leweline princeps Walliæ ac ſubditis veſtris exponere nos et noſtra ſpretis viarum incommodis et periculis, veſtram adjuverimus præſentiam oves erroneas reducturi; et ſpeculatoris fungentis officio vobis myſteriæ vivæ vocis diximus pericula quæ genti veſtræ videbamus luce clarius imminere, ſubjunctis remediis eorundem; teſte optantes altiſſimo juxta pontificale debitum cuilibet veſtrum eccleſiam minimo de corpore noſtro pontem facere ad ſalutis littora reducendo. Tandem veſtris auditis precibus et anguſtiis eas ut neceſſitatis veſtræ nuntius præſentavimus regiæ majeſtati, quem ab olim ad pœnitentes adverſarios introitum ſcimus eſſe propitium; ut quidam de veſtris et aliis ut nobis certis conſtat indiciis ipſius clementia abutantur. Tractavimus inſuper cum magnatibus et proceribus Angliæ præſentibus de modificatione gratiæ regiæ ipſorum aſſiſtentia noſtris vobis ſupplicationibus impretranda, cujus modificationis ſeriem per ſervum Dei fratrem Johannem Wallenſem vobis miſimus in ſcriptum, una cum conſilio noſtro quod vobis ſecundum deum ſalubrius videbatur; vos autem deliberationem veſtram nobis in quadam remiſiſtis cedula per eundem, cujus cedulæ pernitioſas latebras vobis paterno affectu præſentibus aperimus. Primò igitur dictis vos juri nolle cedere quatuor Cantredarum, quia progenitores veſtri à temporibus Cambri filii Bruti in eiſdem juris plenitudinem habuerunt; ſed ne ſimpliciores in vobis de ſucceſſu hujuſmodi gloriantur, ſalva in omnibus pace veſtra, vobis licet inviti ipſius radicem originis ex geſtis Britonum et Anglorum ad memoriam revocamus. Diſperſis enim olim Trojanis pro eo quod Paridis adulterium defenſarunt; fatemur progenitores

veſtrm

veſtræ multitudinis interpoſitis quibuſdam ſeditionibus fugæ ſibi præſidium aſſumpſiſſe; et utinam non maneat in eis hujuſmodi contagii memoria qui ſic libera matrimonia parvipendunt ut ſpurios et inceſtu genitos à ſucceſſione hæreditaria ut dicitur non repellunt, quin potius uxores legitimæ Howeli da patrociniæ, contra Evangelium dato repudio fama teſte, vel potius infamia repelluntur; qualiter demum Brutus Dianæ præſagiis non ſine diaboli præſtigiis per idolatriam immolato Cervæ Venatitiæ obtentis, inſulam Britannicam pervaſerit per famoſas hiſtorias declaratur; pervaſerit inquam inhabitatam inſulam, agentibus ſtatura proceris quarum peremit fortiſſimum Corineus. Gentibus inquam de boreali praſapia quæ non ſolum ..... verum etiam Scythiam trans Danubium ab occidente noſtro per Aquilonis latera uſque in Orientales terminos occupavit. Quam ergo quæſumus fecerunt vobis injuriam Angli et Saxones ejuſdem generis, ſi vos proceſſu temporis ab uſurpato dominio perturbarunt: cum ſcriptum eſſe noveritis, vae qui praedaris in omne praedaberis. Non oportet autem ſimplices in radice adulterina proceſſu idololatriæ, et uſurpationis ſpoliis gloriari. Progenitores inſuper veſtri moderniores, cum enervati deliciis ſibi non ſufficerent defenlandis, obruentibus eos Scotis et Pictis, denegato etiam eis Romani imperii præſidio poſtulato, ad Germanorum refugium convolârunt, qui venientes repudiarunt, hoſtes uſque in praeſentem diem ſuarum labores manuum manducantes. Ex his cauſis quum ſedet ſola à vobis inſula olim populo plenâ, veſtro proſcribente Jeremia, quia prophetae tui viderunt tibi vana et ſtulta; item praedictorum juribus Cantredorum confirmationem legati frivole allegatis, cum non fuerit intentionis ſuae jura regia, ſeu etiam jura civilia et Canonica, ſicut nec potuit enervare: pro crimine enim leſæ majeſtatis, in quod vos incidiſſe dicimini, juxta quod ſcribitur ſexta quaeſtione. Secunda paragrapho; *Si quis cum militibus*, et 22. Quæſt. *ultima capitulo* de forma fidelitatis. Omne perit jus haereditarium et expirat: in Cantredis igitur praedictis in quibus ab olim domino regi jus dicitur adquiſitum, et in Snawdon ac caeteris quae teneris

jure

jure haereditario, nihil poteſtis ſicut nec ſubditi veſtri; ut ex praeallegatis videtur, niſi ex ſola regia clementia praeſtolari. Dicitur demum quod populus non vult ad gratiam regiam convolare, quia dominus rex, nec pacta, nec juramenta, nec chartarum fœdera principi conſervavit. Et nos quaerimus ex cujus vel quorum iſtud ſit judicio declaratum, niſi per vos qui in cauſa propria judicium uſurpatis, et per ſingulas luſtrales periodos pacem infringitis, innocentes jugulatis, incendia facitis, munitiones regias pro viribus vaſtatis; ac domini Howell da quitalia injuriarum remedia in lege ſua quam vidimus inſtituit, autoritate quam ei diabolus delegavit. Praeterea in regem impungitis, dicentes, quod regales eccleſias et perſonas eccleſiaſticas crudeli vaſtavit tyrannide, et conſumunt; ad quod taliter reſpondemus, quod dominus rex praedicta mala nec fieri mandavit, nec rata habuit, quin potius nobis obtulit ultronei, quod quam citò aderit oportunitas eccleſiarum proponit diſpendia reſacire; quod differt uſque ad ſedatam guerræ tempeſtatem, ne ſi prius fieret deſtruerentur iterum per latrones. Præterea timetis in Anglia honorem ſuſcipere, ne conſequenter vobis occaſionata malitia auferatur, cum tamen fateamini quod dominus re nullum ſuum exhæredaverit inimicum; quod fruſtra vos timere credimus, ſi legaliter vivere vos et veſtri didiceritis, et non a parti cum domino veſtro contendere vel certare. Mores vobis et populo veſtro cauſamini incognitos; et nos è contrario opinamur quod expediret vobis omnibus in modum alium et mores penitus transformari. Cum enim ſitis ſicut cæteri homines donis Dei gratuitis adornati, ſed in veſtro Anglo devoramini: ut nec eccleſiam juvetis contra hoſtes fidei militando; nec Clerum ſtudio ſapientiae, exceptis pauciſſimis, decoretis; quin potius major pars veſtrum torpet otio et laſciviis, ut pene neſciat mundus vos eſſe populum, niſi per paucos ex vobis qui videntur ut plurimum in — mendicare. Deinde ſcribitis quod creditis altiſſimum vos juvare pro juſtitia decretantes; utinam inquam altiſſimus juvet vos ſalubriter et dirigat ad ſalutem. Sed ne ruinas aliquas Anglorum ex inconſideratione ſua provenientes veſtris

velitis

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FH

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